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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***International Affairs***

7 OCTOBER 1987

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

FOREIGN MINISTRY BULLETIN PUBLISHES LIST OF RANKING OFFICIALS

18070397 Moscow VESTNIK MINISTERSTVA INOSTRANNYKH DEL SSSR in Russian No 1, 5 Aug 87 pp 67-71

[Unattributed item: "Structure of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] MINISTER AND DEPUTY MINISTERS

CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs SHEVARDNADZE, Eduard Amvrosiyevich

First deputy minister	VORONTSOV, Yuliy Mikhaylovich
First deputy minister	KOVALEV, Anatoliy Gavrilovich
Deputy minister	ADAMISHIN, Anatoliy Leonidovich
Deputy minister	BESSMERTNYKH, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich
Deputy minister	ILICHEV, Leonid Fedorovich
Deputy minister	KOMPLEKTOV, Viktor Georgiyevich
Deputy minister	LOGINOV, Vadim Petrovich
Deputy minister	NIKOFOROV, Valentin Mikhaylovich
Deputy minister	PETROVSKIY, Vladimir Fedorovich
Deputy minister	ROGACHEV, Igor Aleksandrovich
Deputy minister	CHAPLIN, Boris Nikolayevich

Assistant to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and assistant to the minister STEPANOV, Teymuraz Georgiyevich

GENERAL SECRETARIAT OF THE MINISTRY

Chief of the General Secretariat TARASENKO, Sergey Petrovich

GROUP OF AMBASSADORS ON SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

ANDROPOV, Igor Yuriyevich  
GRINEVSKIY, Oleg Alekseyevich  
KOZYREV, Nikolay Ivanovich  
KOLOSOVSKIY, Igor Konstantinovich  
LOMEYKO, Vladimir Borisovich  
OBUKHOV, Aleksey Aleksandrovich  
PIRADOV, Aleksandr Sergeyevich  
SUSLOV, Vladimir Pavlovich  
SYTENKO, Mikhail Dmitriyevich  
USTINOV, Vyacheslav Aleksandrovich

GROUP OF COUNSELORS TO THE USSR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ALEKSANDROV-AGENTOV, Andrey Mikhaylovich  
POPOV, Viktor Ivanovich  
RODIONOV, Nikolay Nikolayevich  
SEMENOV, Vladimir Semenovich

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief GORINOVICH, Gorald Nikolayevich

FIRST EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief AFANASYEVSKIY, Nikolay Nikolayevich

SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief USPENSKIY, Nikolay Nikoalyevich

THIRD EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief BONDARENKO, Aleksandr Pavlovich

QUESTIONS OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE DEPARTMENT

Department chief DERYABIN, Yuriy Stepanovich

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA DEPARTMENT

Department chief BESSMERTNYKH, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich

FIRST LATIN AMERICAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief

SECOND LATIN AMERICAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief KUZMIN, Leonid Filippovich

NEAR EASTERN AND NORTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief POLYAKOV, Vladimir Porfirievich

MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES DEPARTMENT

Department chief ALEKSEYEV, Yuriy Konstantinovich

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF ASIA ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief KIREYEV, Genrikh Vasilyevich

SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief FIALKOVSKIY, Andrey Igorevich

PACIFIC OCEAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief

FIRST AFRICAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief KITAYEV, Vladimir Sergeyevich

SECOND AFRICAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief YUKALOV, Yuriy Alekseyevich

THIRD AFRICAN DEPARTMENT

Department chief VASEV, Vladillen Mikhaylovich

PERSONNEL AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS MAIN ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief ABOIMOVICH, Ivan Pavlovich

PROBLEMS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief KARPOV, Viktor Pavlovich

EVALUATION AND PLANNING ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief MENDELEVICH, Lev Isaakovich

SCIENTIFIC COORDINATION CENTER

Center director Shustov, Vladimir Viktorovich

EMBASSIES LIAISON ADMINISTRATION [Upravleniye po rabote s sopolstvmi]

Administration chief TEREKHOV, Vladislav Petrovich

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief LOZINSKIY, Valentin Vadimovich

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief OBMINSKIY, Ernest Yevgeniyevich

HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL TIES ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief KASHLEV, Yuriy Borisovich

USSR COMMISSION FOR UNESCO AFFAIRS

Commission chairman ADAMISHIN, Anatoliy Leonidovich

INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief GERASIMOV, Gennadiy Ivanovich

CONSULAR ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief VDOVIN, Valentin Petrovich

HISTORICAL-DIPLOMATIC ADMINISTRATION

Administration chief KOVALEV, Feliks Nikolayevich

TREATY AND LEGAL DEPARTMENT

Department chief RYBAKOV, Yuriy Mikhaylovich

QUESTIONS OF PEACEFUL USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND SPACE DEPARTMENT

Department chief

NONALIGNED MOVEMENT DEPARTMENT

Department chief SINITSYN, Sergey Yakovlevich

PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT

Department chief     CHERNYSHEV, Vladimir Ivanovich

JURIDICAL DEPARTMENT

Department chief     SIMANOVSKIY, Lev Alekseyevich

NEGOTIATIONS DEPARTMENT

Department chief     RAZVIN, Aleksandr Alekseyevich

AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION

Administrator of affairs     MATVEYEV, Leonid Ivanovich

CSO: 18070397

DEPUTY MINISTER ON CEMA COOPERATION IN ELECTRIC POWER

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 9, 1987 pp 43-44

[Interview with USSR Deputy Minister of Power and Electrification Aleksandr Pavlovich Poddubskiy by S. Borisova: "Friendship Power Bridges"; first three paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] "...Modern advanced equipment persistently requires electrification of the whole country--and of a number of neighboring countries--under a single plan. These words were written more than 60 years ago. V. I. Lenin was then speaking about an international cooperative of workers and he dreamed of a world socialist economy.

Today, collaboration of the fraternal countries within the framework of the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance is the living embodiment of Lenin's dream. Joining forces in order to solve power problems, the countries of socialist collaboration are creating a firm base for further growth of their national economies.

USSR Deputy Minister of Power and Electrification A. Poddubskiy, in a conversation with our correspondent, tells about certain aspects of this joint work.

[Question] One of the basic areas for economic, scientific and technical collaboration of the fraternal countries is that of a reliable supply of electricity and heat energy for the national economy. Mutual exchange of electricity in this case is of major importance. Tell us, please, what is being done in this area.

[Answer] The requirements of the populations of our country and of our CEMA partner countries for heat and electricity grow constantly. In order to satisfy them, power engineering should be developed at an anticipatory pace. I shall cite a figure that is extremely indicative: last year the collaborating countries generated more than 2 trillion kWh of electricity. This amount is truly astronomical! Our country's share in world production of electricity has grown greatly: compare it--about 14 percent in 1950 and more than 22 percent in 1986.



The interconnection of the national power systems of the European members of CEMA for parallel operation played an important role in achieving these successes. It enabled the countries participating in it to increase the mutual exchange of electricity, to reduce the reserves of power in power systems, and to increase the economy of their operation. In so doing, the reliability of power supply for the national economy and for the population has increased substantially.

In the past 10 years interconnection of the partner-country power systems has been developed in accordance with a Master Plan for Long-Range Development of the Interconnected Electric-Power Systems of CEMA member countries During the Period up to 1990. It calls for the erection of superpowerful electrical transmission lines by joint efforts.

[Question] Aleksandr Pavlovich, a brief "chronicle" of this joint work will undoubtedly be of interest to our readers.

[Answer] Ten years is no small time segment. But much was done during this period, and, the main thing, a firm foundation for collaboration of the fraternal countries' power systems was created.

The first large integrated construction project was the 750-kV Vinnitsa - USSR---Albertirsha (MNK) 850-km long LEP [electric-power transmission line]. The line went into operation in 1979, specialists of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia took part in its creation, along with our scientists, engineers and workers. The power line, which has no equals in Europe, was built in a short time, with high quality of construction and installing operations. The results of many years of research and experience in power-grid construction in the USSR was used in erecting it.

Thus in 1979 the world's largest power association was formed, with a total rated capacity of more than 400 million kW for its power stations--The Interconnected Power System of CEMA Member Countries and the USSR Unified Power System.

Europe's first intergovernmental power transmission line of this voltage class and of such great length, it was the embodiment of the step-by-step engineering policy of the partner countries, which was implemented in accordance with the Integrated Program for Further Intensification and Improvement of Collaboration and Development of the Socialist Economic Integration of CEMA Member Countries.

[Question] Positive experience--not only technical but also experience in collaboration in this sort of work--was gained during erection of the first superpowerful intersystem LEP. How did the power systems of the CEMA member countries use it later?

[Answer] This experience was very appropriate, since the next step was the erection of a power bridge from the Soviet Union to the Polish People's Republic. The 750-kV Khmel'nitskaya AES (USSR)--Zheshuv (Polish People's Republic) power transmission line was built by joint forces of German, Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak comrades. After introduction of the

Khmelnitskaya nuclear giant at full capacity, as much as 12 billion kWh--a veritable river of electric power--will flow along the new electrical transmission line. The line is almost 400 km long.

The Master Plan for the Long-Range Development of the OES's [interconnected electric-power systems] for the period up to 1990 also calls for an intensification of intersystem links in the southeastern part of the Interconnected Power System. For this purpose, a third superpowerful electric power line, which will serve as a bridge between the USSR, Romania and Bulgaria, is now being erected. The first segment of the 750-kV LEP from the Yuzhnoukrainskaya AES to the Isakcha substation, on Romanian territory, went into operation in August 1986. Construction and installing work, which will be completed in the first half of this year, is now being performed on the second segment--from the Isakcha substation to the Dobrudzha substation (the People's Republic of Hungary). The new power bridge will be 645 km long. Operation of the new intersystem links will be coordinated by the Central Control Administration in Prague. With introduction of a third line for electrical transmission, the first stage in the formation of system-forming links in the Interconnected Power System of CEMA will have been completed.

[Question] As is well known, within the framework of the Standing CEMA Commission on Collaboration in the Area of Electric Power Engineering, a master plan for the long-range development of this branch of the national economies of the CEMA member nations up to the year 2000 is now being developed. The next stage in the construction of intersystem power bridges is being planned within it. What will their erection yield?

[Answer] Primarily, it will allow the main requirement for a power supply to be provided: high reliability. Management of the Interconnected Power System is being improved, and the prerequisites for its complete utilization are being created, that is, a saving of installed capacity. The creation of the 750-kV intersystem LEP's will open up new prospects for intensifying integrational ties in the fraternal countries' electric-power engineering. Experience in CEMA member-country collaboration in this area testifies to the great vital force of socialist internationalism and to the fact that collaboration will be developed even farther along the line that is on the rise.

[Question] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recently adopted an ukase on questions connected with the creation on USSR soil and the operation of joint enterprises and international associations and organizations, and with the participation of Soviet and foreign organizations, companies and control organs. What is being done in this area?

[Answer] A Soviet-Hungarian science-and-production collective is being organized. Urgent problems associated with saving fuel and power resources will be solved within its framework. Among them are the use of power station discharge heat for warming hothouses on a basically new basis, and questions of the wide utilization of waste heat. The joint development of new systems for air and combined cooling for TETS's and AES's will be of major importance. They are being erected in regions with little water and in arid regions. Much attention will be paid to problems of preserving the environment.



It is especially to be noted that this organization's mission includes both the development of technical solutions and industrial systems and the fabrication of prototype models of equipment, as well as the prerequisites for checking and testing thereof.

The problems of creating similar joint science-and-production collectives, also with Czechoslovak, Polish and German colleagues, are being worked on. We expect much from the uniting of our efforts.

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IBEC ROLE IN CEMA INTEGRATION OUTLINED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 23, Jun 87 p 21

[Article by V. Dzhindzhikhadze, chairman of the IBEC Administration: "IBEC [International Bank for Economic Cooperation]: Assistance to Integration Processes"]

[Text] The countries of socialist collaboration are doing much fruitful work on implementing large-scale programs for socio-economic development that were contemplated by congresses of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties. They are seeing an important source and reserve for speeding up the growth of their economies in the further strengthening and increase in the effectiveness of mutual collaboration and conversion from primarily trade relationships to deep specialization and cooperation, and in the establishment and development of direct production, scientific and technical ties, the creation of joint enterprises and organizations, and successful realization of the Integrated Program for Scientific and Technical Progress.

The International Bank for Economic Cooperation is striving to promote the solution of these tasks in every possible way. This was emphasized once again at the 66th Session of the IBEC Council, which convened in April this year. Citing the results of the Bank's work in 1986, the council discussed comprehensive measures for improving and increasing the effectiveness of the IBEC's credit-settlements mechanism in clearing-account rubles in the new era of socialist integration, and for expanding its role in intensifying mutual economic assistance among CEMA member countries, including a step-up in credits-settlement activity with a view to promoting the accelerated development of new, priority forms of collaboration.

The council noted that last year the IBEC provided for the fulfillment of the functions vested in it by CEMA member countries in regard to the uninterrupted credits-settlement servicing for the constantly rising extent of economic ties among them. The volume of settlements for mutual trade turnover and for other forms of economic collaboration which were performed in 1986 by member countries through the IBEC was 221.1 billion clearing-account rubles, 4.8 percent more than in the preceding year. As a result of the steps taken in 1985-1986 to promote cooperation with international economic and other organizations of the CEMA member nations, an appreciable growth (13.2 percent) of their settlements in clearing-account rubles was noted.

In 1986 the bank granted credits in the amount of 18 billion clearing-account rubles, or 17.3 percent more than in 1985. A substantial portion of the credits, as in the previous year, was granted to banks of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia on favorable terms. IBEC credits will help these countries to control flexibly the balance of mutual settlements and to meet temporary requirements for monetary resources that arise as a result of an excess of imports of commodities and services over exports. In so doing, a simultaneous reimbursement of credits granted is provided for through growth in the export of commodities and services of the debtor nation in the international socialist market.

#### Balance Sheet

#### International Bank of Economic Cooperation

in clearing account rubles

	On 1 January	
	1986	1987
<b>Assets</b>		
1. Monetary resources:		
a. In current accounts and cash.....	9,170,966	5,940,626
b. In deposits.....	1,292,083,696	1,171,124,406
[Totals].....	1,301,254,662	1,177,065,032
2. Credits granted.....	4,914,259,201	4,693,278,800
3. Bank property.....	824,539	822,478
4. Other assets.....	40,508,961	50,403,927
Balance.....	6,256,847,363	5,921,570,237
<b>Liabilities</b>		
1. Bank capital:		
a. Statutory capital of 305,262,000--		
the paid-out portion.....	190,316,160	230,316,560
b. Reserve capital.....	204,165,512	216,966,312
[Totals].....	394,481,672	447,282,872
2. Deposits:		
a. Current accounts.....	954,334,596	227,772,205
b. Deposits.....	4,295,948,481	4,640,247,096
[Totals].....	5,250,283,077	4,868,019,301
3. Credits received.....	454,118,934	504,276,604
4. Other liabilities.....	135,203,360	79,618,017
5. Net profit.....	22,760,320	22,373,443
Balance.....	6,256,847,363	5,921,570,237

The share of IBEC credits in the total amount of mutual payments of the member-country banks was about 15 percent last year versus 13 percent in 1985.

Thanks to an improvement in the state of balance of mutual payments of member countries, the magnitude of IBEC credit outlays on 1 January 1987 had reached

4 billion clearing-account rubles and was 400 million clearing-account rubles less than on 1 January of last year.

In the interests of developing the trade and economic ties of CEMA member countries with capitalist states, the bank continued operations in convertible currencies in the necessary amounts. It acquired currency resources from the banks of socialist and capitalist countries on current accounts, in deposits, and also in the form of medium-term credits and provided for their effective distribution. The residues of IBEC resources in convertible currency as a whole that were acquired by the end of 1986 were increased by 5.3 percent over the preceding year, primarily through the currency resources of member-country banks, and comprised a sum equivalent to 1.7 billion clearing-account rubles. The amount of currency resources distributed by the IBEC to member-country banks and to Western banks also increased correspondingly.

The IBEC has to operate in the face of the chronic instability of capitalist currency markets. Therefore, when conducting operations in convertible currency it pays special attention to providing for the conservation of its own and its acquired resources, to the maintenance of an optimal structure of assets and liabilities by currency and by period, and to the timely and complete fulfillment of its obligations to its partners.

IBEC profit for the results of its activity for last year was 22.4 million clearing-account rubles, that is, it stayed at the preceding year's level. The bank compensated for the negative effect on profit of the reduction during 1986 of interest rates in Western monetary markets by making more effective use of its own convertible-currency resources.

The banks council adopted a decision to distribute the profit obtained in the following manner: 8.7 million clearing-account rubles--among the member countries in the form of dividends, and 10.4 million clearing-account rubles to be credited to reserve capital. The rest of it was sent to the fund for the construction of new office buildings for the bank.

In considering the constantly rising volume of operations in clearing-account rubles and in convertible currency, the council adopted a decision to further strengthen the banks financial position. For this purpose, the paid-up portion of the statutory capital in a sum equivalent to 40 million clearing-account rubles and reserve capital in an amount equal to 12.8 million clearing-account rubles was increased. Thus, the IBEC's own funds had grown from 394.5 million clearing-account rubles at the end of 1985 to 447.3 million at the end of last year. More than half of this sum consisted of funds in convertible currency.

At a working meeting of the general secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties of CEMA member countries in Moscow (November 1986) and also at the 42d meeting of the CEMA session, the necessity and urgency of taking integrated steps to improve and intensify relationships among the countries in the area of economics and to use new and more progressive forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation were noted.

The measures that are now being taken in IBEC member countries to improve economic mechanisms and joint work on restructuring integrational ties have been aimed at creating favorable economic conditions for wide development of the initiative of economic organizations and their active participation in collaboration. Today the forms for accomplishing science-and-production cooperation at the level of economic elements have been direct ties, joint enterprises, and international associations and organizations. It is these forms that have been called upon to play the decisive role in implementing the Integrated program for scientific and technical progress of CEMA countries up to the year 2000.

The IBEC invigorated the work of creating favorable conditions for credit-settlements servicing for the indicated forms of mutual action of CEMA countries.

At the 64th meeting of the council (October 1986), the board's proposals for the bank's participation in realization of the Integrated Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA nations were approved. It was recognized that it was desirable that IBEC grant to authorized banks of the member countries specific credits for measures for specialization and cooperation of production. Along with this, the bank is ready to provide for international settlements of joint cost-accounting enterprises and international economic organizations (MKhO) created by the fraternal countries, and also to grant them direct credits for the purpose of temporary augmentation of working capital.

In order to execute settlements operations, IBEC is calling for the opening of current accounts for international economic organizations and joint enterprises. Receipts of currency resources will be entered in these accounts on behalf of their owners and payments will be made in accordance with their authorizations. The opening of current accounts and the procedure for managing them are regulated by agreements (letters of exchange) between the IBEC and clients. In so doing, the IBEC will be furnished examples of the signatures of officials who are authorized to sign monetary settlements documents and correspondents.

Accounts are opened in accordance with a written ruling of a representative or member of the administration and the chief accountant of the IBEC. When the current account has a steady surplus of free currency resources, MKhO's and joint enterprises can place it in the bank in the form of a deposit.

Joint enterprises and MKhO's that are juridical persons, which have the statutory capital and perform economic activity based on the principles of full cost-accounting, can request that IBEC grant credit in clearing-account rubles for a period of up to three years. In order to get the credit, it is necessary to give the bank an economically substantiated application. It should incorporate, in particular, an explanation of the need for the credit and the economic effectiveness of the measures for which the credit is requested and should indicate the sources of the funds for liquidating the credit. When examining these applications, the bank's administration must, when necessary, require a copy of the founding and other documents that govern



the activity of the MKhO's and joint enterprises, the balance sheets, a certificate about the financial status, and other documents. After a decision is adopted to grant a credit, the IBEC notifies the MKhO's and joint enterprises about this and concludes the credit agreement with them. It specifies the total, the currency, and the specific purpose of the credit, the procedure for using it, the interest rate, the period for repayment and the payment of the interest, the sources of repayment, and also, in accordance with an agreement between the bank and the joint enterprises and organizations, other data.

The interest rates for credits and debt transactions, which are conducted in clearing-account rubles, have been set as follows: from 3.25 to 5 percent interest per year for credits; from 2.5 to 4 percent interest per year (depending upon the term of the credit and the deposit) for deposits; and an interest rate of 1.5 percent annually for current accounts. For credits not paid off on time, the rate is increased by 1 percent annually, and 0.75 percent is paid annually for deposits covered ahead of schedule.

It should be noted, however, that MKhO's and joint enterprises still do not use actively enough the potential of the IBEC's credits-settlement mechanism in convertible rubles for strengthening their work's financial foundation. This despite the existing decisions of the CEMA Ispolkom and the authoritative organs of member countries about the desirability of direct businesslike collaboration of the indicated organizations with the collective bank. It seems that the flexible terms for credits-settlement support for the MKhO's and joint enterprises that were established by IBEC create good prerequisites for the successful development of their economic activity and for further expansion of our bank's operation. The most rapid arrangement of strong mutually advantageous business ties of international economic organizations and joint enterprises with IBEC is in the interest of both sides and of intensifying socialist economic integration.

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CSO: 1825/209

IMPORTANCE OF LEVELING CEMA COUNTRIES' DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 1, 1987 pp 67-75

[Article by L. P. Borisov, docent, candidate of historical sciences: "Equalizing the Development of CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Aid] Countries as the Most Important Factor in Drawing Them Closer Together"]

[Excerpts] One of the difficult problems inherited by world socialism is that of eliminating actual inequalities among nations and states and of closing the great gap in socio-economic and cultural development of socialist countries. The elimination of this gap, especially under the conditions of the ongoing scientific-technical revolution that requires an increase and expansion of the international division of labor, has become a pressing task for CEMA countries. In jointly-passed documents the CEMA countries have determined the basic directions for action with the goal of drawing together socialist countries, of improving mutual ties, and of bringing less developed socialist countries up to the level of progressive countries.

The problem of leveling the development of cooperating socialist countries has aroused a certain interest among scholars.(1) However, in many works it is examined within the context of more general problems and not all aspects are studied thoroughly. This article attempts to analyze the policies of communist and workers' parties and of socialist states as regards the question of leveling the development of countries that belong to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, the essence of the successes that have been achieved along this path and their effect on the process of bringing the aforementioned countries closer together.

Socio-economic progress by CEMA countries has confirmed the correctness of the policies of communist and workers' parties of fraternal states. The pace of growth has remained more rapid in less developed countries. A qualitative restructuring of their national economies was implemented. This was reflected in socialist industrialization, in the indicated structural transformations of industry to the advantage of branches which encourage scientific-technical progress, in the intensification of the economy and so forth. Thanks to this policy success was achieved. In the course of a relatively short period of time the countries which previously were poorly developed economically, which had been destroyed by war, or which found themselves within the imperialist blockade took a rapid step forward, closed the gap that separated them from



the most economically highly-developed states and now find themselves in the process of gradually achieving an equal level of economic development. According to base data, from 1950 to 1977 the gap in per capita industrial production levels in CEMA countries decreased from a factor of 5 to a factor of 1.7, and in size of national income--from a factor of 3.2 to that of 1.3 (see: "ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG CEMA COUNTRIES, 1979, No 1, p 7).

However, the problem has not been solved conclusively. For this reason we need a constant search for optimal ways to further level economic development in socialist countries, which is one of the most important objective factors that will lead to strengthening cooperation among them.

In what ways can this be achieved?

The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration states that in the course of implementing the measures that it has planned consideration must be given to the importance of facilitating the most rapid and effective development of the economy, science and technology in the less industrially-developed CEMA countries while maximally mobilizing these countries' own efforts and resources. Fraternal aid to less developed socialist countries is a clear manifestation of socialist internationalism. Its intransient significance is confirmed by the entire course of historical development of socialist cooperation. The name itself--Council for Mutual Economic Aid--emphasizes that fact that it is mutual aid that is the most important intention.

The aid that is rendered to the less developed fraternal countries is manifested in various forms. It includes cooperation in the building on their territories of various national economic structures, the sharing with them of progressive production experience and scientific-technical documentation, the training of cadres of specialists and so forth. Thus, for example, with the aid of the USSR and other CEMA countries, over 750 large national economic structures were built between 1950 and the mid-1980's in the MNR [Mongolian People's Republic], Cuba and Vietnam (see: "Statistical Annual of CEMA Countries, 1985, p 7). Of no little importance is the establishment of elevated prices for some goods received from economically-weaker countries which participate in socialist cooperation, and the establishment of preferential prices for them for the acquisition of products from other CEMA countries. One of the shining examples of the rendering of fraternal aid to less developed socialist countries involves the operations of the International Bank of Economic Cooperation, which provides credit to these countries at an annual rate of 0.5-2 percent, whereas other CEMA countries receive credit at the rate of 2-5 percent. We must note the free aid provided at different times to the MNR, Cuba and Vietnam. In the process of developing cooperation, as foreseen by the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, other forms of aid and cooperation for the purpose of the rapid and effective development of the economies of less industrially-developed CEMA countries may arise.

As a result of the implementation of measures that are directed at leveling the socio-economic development of fraternal countries, the output of industrial products has grown significantly more rapidly in less-developed

socialist states from the moment of the creation of CEMA. Thus, in Bulgaria during these years it has increased by a factor of 29, in Hungary--9, in the GDR--11, in the MNR--30, in Poland--14, in Romania--34, in the USSR--14 and in the Czechoslovakian SSR--by over 9 (see: Statistical Annual of CEMA Countries, 1985, p 7).

The leveling of economic development of countries involved in socialist cooperation can be more effective only under conditions in which there is a strengthening of the process of internationalizing production and exchange and of gradually forming and developing international production forces. It is in this direction that contemporary economic and scientific-technical cooperation among CEMA countries is developing. The implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration has resulted in the mutual assimilation of natural resources by fraternal countries, in the building of large industrial complexes, in cooperation among their enterprises and entire branches of industry with a view toward the future, in a significant deepening of economic mutual cooperation and in increasing the mutual complementary nature of economies. As a result of the fulfillment in 1976-1980 and 1981-1985 of coordinated plans dealing with many-sided integrated measures through the joint efforts of fraternal countries, a number of large industrial enterprises were built for the purpose of more fully satisfying the needs of all participants for the products produced by these enterprises.

The passage at the 32nd (1978) and 33rd (1979) CEMA sessions of long-term special-purpose programs of cooperation within the areas of energy, fuel and raw materials, agriculture and the food industry, machine building, industrial goods and the development of transportation communications also signifies confirmation of the policies carried out by countries of socialist cooperation that are directed at strengthening internationalization of their economies and at the gradual formation of international production forces. Of the number of forms of cooperation which were to be implemented on a multilateral basis the largest proportion involved agreements concerning joint building, production specialization and cooperation and scientific-technical progress (see: ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG CEMA COUNTRIES, 1980, No 2, p 31).

Measures encouraging the continued internationalization of production forces among fraternal socialist countries and the accelerated improvement of the economies of the SRV [Socialist Republic of Vietnam], Cuba and the MNR were established in the decisions of the Top-Level Economic Conference of CEMA Countries in 1984 (see: Top-Level Economic Conferences of CEMA Countries: Documents and Materials, Moscow, 1984, p 24). The conference recommended a strengthening of agreements on economic policies among fraternal countries in the areas related to mutual cooperation, and for interested countries--in other areas of social-economic development to a degree that they felt was necessary (see same source, p 20).

In accordance with the decisions of this conference in 1985 at the 41st (top-priority) CEMA conference a Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress for CEMA Countries to the Year 2000 was passed. The passage of this program, which foresaw the joining of efforts of cooperating socialist countries in five priority directions (electronization of the national

economy, comprehensive automation, atomic energy, new materials and technology for producing and processing these materials, and biotechnology), fully reflects those enormous possibilities which have become manifest in fraternal socialist countries as a result of their common progress.

At the same time, the Comprehensive Program, while assigning top-priority importance to tasks involving accelerating the process of leveling economic development of CEMA countries and increasing the effectiveness of scientific-technical and economic aid to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic, attests to the fact that in socialist competition there continue to be urgent problems related to raising less-developed countries to the level of progressive countries.(2)

The passage of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress reflects the dictates of the times--the period of extensive development is over and now it is essential to take a decisive step on the path toward expanding and increasing cooperation among CEMA countries on the basis of the intensification of their national economies. This course was consolidated in documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and in routine congresses of communist and workers' parties of fraternal countries. They emphasize that the key strategic question for all cooperation is the course toward accelerating socio-economic development by means of the overall intensification of production on the basis of scientific-technical progress. The successful solution to this problem requires a new, qualitatively higher level of integration and an active, creative approach toward the development of mutual ties among CEMA countries. Speaking at the 11th Congress of SEPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], M. S. Gorbachev said that "socialist countries are now entering a period when cooperation among them must be raised to a higher level. And this is true not for one or two points but, as mathematicians say, for the entire order" (PRAVDA, 1986, 19 Apr).

The 42nd meeting of the CEMA session, which took place in Bucharest on 3-5 Nov 1986, marked a practical step in the implementation of such cooperation. This meeting examined questions related to the development of direct business ties and to the creation of joint enterprises, associations and organizations on a cost accounting basis. At a working meeting of the leaders of the fraternal CEMA countries that took place in Moscow on 10-11 November special attention was given to further improving relations between them in the area of economics, which is of decisive significance for accelerating progress in fraternal countries and for raising the level of cooperation in all areas.

The resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Improve Management of Foreign Economic Ties" and "On Measures to Improve Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation with Socialist Countries" devote priority attention to solving the indicated problems. In economic cooperation with socialist countries the Soviet Union foresees the transition from primarily trade relations to close production specialization and cooperation; giving associations and enterprises extensive rights to develop direct ties with enterprises and organizations of other CEMA countries; and the possibility of the extensive use of forms of cooperation such as joint enterprises on the basis of common property or international associations and organizations in which national property is preserved but in



which joint operations take place on the basis of the coordination of common plans (see: PRAVDA, 1986, 24 September). All of this creates a great expanse for the development of initiative and for a creative approach to solving urgent problems. Increased cooperation is occurring in other spheres of public life as well. Having achieved a certain leveling in their development, socialist cooperating countries have begun to extensively organize scientific ties as well. In this there is active participation on a bilateral and multilateral basis by academic institutions and higher educational institutions. There will be increased cooperation among ministries, departments and organizations that are involved in education and the training of the younger generation. Cultural Days are being carried out--these are large-scale, comprehensive measures that are carried out on a bilateral basis that include drama festivals, music festivals, art festivals and so forth.

These measures encourage the enrichment of the content of cultural cooperation among socialist countries, create favorable conditions for continued growth in creative contacts and also, especially importantly, for acquainting peoples with each others' achievements. As a result the sphere of mutual exchanges in the area of spiritual culture is expanding. There is a mutual enrichment of national socialist cultures and thus, a drawing together of these cultures. All of the best that has been created by the talent of the peoples of a particular country gradually becomes the achievement of the workers of other countries as well. Painting is becoming more and more internationalized. "The activization of collective thought, the constant expansion of the exchange of spiritual values, and cooperation in the areas of science and culture," states the CPSU Program, "serve to further strengthen friendship among socialist countries" (Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress, p 172).

Thus, the strengthening of cooperation among fraternal socialist countries confirms V. I. Lenin's foresight concerning the fact that under the conditions of socialism there will be a complete internationalization of public life (see: Lenin, V. I. Complete Works, Vol 23, p 318).

The solution to the problem of leveling social development of CEMA countries will create even more favorable conditions for expanding and strengthening socialist division of labor and production cooperation, for the active inclusion of all fraternal socialist countries in multi-faceted cooperation, for the successful development of socialist economic integration and for the drawing together of the spiritual lives of peoples. The scientific-technical revolution also requires a speedy answer to this problem. It is necessitated by the strategy of accelerating socio-economic development of CEMA countries. The leveling of social development of socialist countries on the basis of their common progress facilitates strengthening cooperation, serves their common international and national-state interests and encourages their drawing together.

The large amount of attention given by communist and workers' parties of fraternal socialist countries to the problem of equalization and to the specific tasks indicated in jointly-developed program documents provide the guarantee that this program will be successfully accomplished.

# Footnotes

1. See, for example: Kormnov, Yu. F. "Spetsializatsiya i kooperatsiya proizvodstva stran SEV v usloviyakh sotsialisticheskoy ekonomicheskoy integratsii" [Production Specialization and Cooperation Among CEMA Countries Under Conditions of Socialist Economic Integration], Moscow, 1972; Zuyev, V. I. "Mirovaya sistema sotsializma: ekonomicheskiye i politicheskiye aspekty yedinstva. Metodologicheskkiye problemy" [The International System of Socialism: Economical and Political Aspects of Unity. Methodological Problems], Moscow, 1975; "SEV: Mezhdunarodnoye znachenie sotsialisticheskoy integratsii" [CEMA: International Significance of Socialist Integration], Moscow, 1979; Kharakhashyan, G. M. "Sotsialisticheskiye mezhdunarodnyye ekonomicheskiye otnosheniya (ocherki stanovleniya i razvitiya)" [Socialist International Economic Relations (Notes on Inception and Development)], Moscow, 1982; "Dve sistemy mirovogo khozyaystva: antagonisticheskoye yedinstvo" [Two Systems of World Economics: Antagonistic Unity], Moscow, 1983; Grechikhin, V. G. "Metodologicheskkiye problemy mezhdunarodnoy sotsialisticheskoy integratsii" [Methodological Problems of International Socialist Integration], Moscow, 1985; and others.
2. By the mid 1980's the ratio between the highest and lowest per capita levels of national income in CEMA countries was 1.3:1, and for industrial production--1.5:1 (see: ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG CEMA COUNTRIES, 1985, No 7, p 6).

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[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Dm. Yeremeyev: "The Inside Story of Sectarian Conflicts"]

[Text] A complex religious situation exists in many Afro-Asian countries, determined first and foremost by the variegated religious make-up of the population. These situations are lately being deliberately aggravated more and more by external imperialist forces that are inflaming sectarian conflicts so as to make use of them in the interest of weakening the liberated countries. "These forces cannot reconcile themselves to the independence and freedom of states and peoples," said M.S. Gorbachev, speaking at a meeting of the active members of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society and the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union during his visit to India. "Herein," he emphasized, "they have no aversion to anything. They set certain states against others, they fan regional conflicts; they take military acts of state terrorism against regimes that displease them; they train, arm and finance all sorts of 'contras,' separatists and terrorists and use economic blockades and debt cabals; they use all sorts of political and ideological sabotage and intrigues... intervention in internal political struggles and other efforts to undermine progressive regimes from within."

It is well known, for example, that these forces inflame the hostilities between Sikhs and Hindus and Hindus and Muslims in India and between Muslims and Christians in Lebanon, Chad and Ethiopia, as well as provoke feuds among various Muslim denominations (Sunnis, Shiites, Wahhabites, Druze and others) where Islam is propagated.<sup>1</sup> This intervention from without frequently merges with the actions of domestic reaction, which causes difficult problems to face the governments of a number of Asian and African countries. The provocation and exploitation of sectarian conflicts by imperialism and its allies (Israel, Pakistan et al) makes a consideration of a whole set of issues associated with their appearance exceedingly topical.

The Sectarian Situation

Almost all of the countries of Asia and Africa are multi-sectarian--they have a diversity of religious adherences among the population. Three world religions, along with local faiths, are represented in the majority of states

of South and Southeast Asia--Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. In Southeast Asia and North Africa, where all countries with the exception of Lebanon and Israel are Muslim, Islam is divided into its principal areas (Sunni and Shiite), where trends and branches are in turn set apart (for example, Wahhabism in Sunniism and Imamism and Zaidism in Shiism), as well as sects (Druze, Isma'ilis, Ibadites and others). Other religions are also represented here--Christianity of various denominations, Hinduism and traditional local cults. In the countries of the south Sahara, various communities of Muslims and Christians, as well as "traditionalists" adhering to a multitude of tribal religions and, finally, Afro-Christians combining Christianity with traditional beliefs, alternate side by side. Only in some African states is the religious make-up of the populations homogeneous (Sunni Muslim): Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritius, Western Sahara (although it is true that there are a small number of Ibadites among the Berbers), Djibouti and Somalia.

The sharpest sectarian conflicts usually arise in countries where there exist communities of different believers that are large both in proportionate terms for the given country and in absolute numbers. In Lebanon, for example, the Muslims make up more than half of the population, and the Christians a little less than half. The Muslims are moreover divided into Shiites (27 percent of the total population), Sunnis (26 percent) and Druze (seven percent). Christianity is represented by the Maronites (23 percent of the total population) and other Uniates (five percent; they are Greco-Catholics, Siro-Catholics and Chaldeans) and Orthodox (seven percent), as well as a number of other denominations (Gregorians, Jacobins, Nestorians and others--five percent). In India, the community of Hindus encompasses 83 percent of the population, while over 11 percent are Muslims (they are basically Sunnis--only about 0.1 percent of the Indian Muslims are Shiites). Muslims moreover comprise 2/3 of the population in the states of Jammu and Kashmir, 1/3 in the state of Assam, 1/5 in the state of West Bengal and 1/6 in the state of Kerala. Another religious community of India--the Sikhs--number roughly two percent of the country's population, although the absolute number of them is imposing--15 million people, while in Punjab the Sikhs are 3/5 of the state's residents. There are furthermore several religious communities that are relatively small in relative terms, but are also quite large in absolute numbers: the Buddhists (0.7 percent of the country's population), Jadids (0.5 percent) and adherents of other faiths.

It is also possible to single out a group of countries that could theoretically be called bi-sectarian. These are countries where there exist basically two major religious communities--for instance, Iraq (58 percent Shiites and 40 percent Sunnis) and Syria (75 percent Sunnis and 15 percent Shiite), as well as such Muslim states as Banrain and Kuwait, where the Shiites are 60 and 20 percent of the population respectively. Also bi-sectarian are Ethiopia, where Christians are 2/3 of the population and Muslims are a little over 1/4 (in several provinces, however, they are from 50 to 80 percent of the inhabitants) and the Philippines, where Christians, principally Catholics, are about 90 percent of the population, while Muslims are about five percent.

## Subjective Factors of Sectarian Contradictions

Inter-communal contradictions are usually manifested in a specific form--religious. But this form conceals the objective substance of other forms--social, economic and political. In countries where the population has a complex sectarian make-up, at certain periods in their historical development--most often in a sharpening of the struggle among political groupings expressing the interests of different social segments--subjective factors are frequently advanced to the forefront, among which great significance belongs to religious preconceptions and prejudices. What sort of preconceptions and prejudices are these? Here we must make a short excursion into sociology and social psychology.

One of the central concepts of sociology is the concept of the social group. And one of the most important functions of such groups is their interaction, including an awareness of the juxtaposition "ours--alien", that is, the foundation on which group psychology is formed as expressed in the "we--they" antithesis. This circumstance is rife with conflicts among groups if the groups occupy different positions in economic, political or social realms and, consequently, have, as a rule, differing interests.

In the interaction of sectarian groups, that is, religious communities, the "we--they" antithesis is based on mutual distinctions not only in religion, but also in customs and culture and, in some cases, in language. These distinctions and specific features are perceived by the representatives of other denominations as something strange and unusual. For example, it is incomprehensible to Muslims why the Christians divide up the single God into three hypostases (God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit), while it seems strange to Christians that a young boy must undergo circumcision in order to be fully communicated into Islam. Representatives of other religions are bewildered by the Hindu taboo on beef, and a cow slaughtered for meat can be an anti-Islamic act on the part of Hindus in the Muslim community. There are, it would seem, even disparities among close denominations that evoke a negative reaction among believers. Thus, Sunnis and Shiites feel that the Druze are "not genuine" Muslims: they have no mosques, custom of circumcision or prohibitions on wine or pork.

This contrast can sometimes unite different ethnic communities and, on the other hand, can also isolate part of the ethnic group from the principal body of it. In the Philippines, for example, the community of Muslims, the so-called Moro (that is, Moors), which include the nationalities of Mindanao, Lanao, Yakan and others, set themselves opposite the Filipino Christians, which also include several ethnic groups (Tagalogs, Visayans, Ilocanos and others). In India, the Punjab nationality is divided in sectarian terms into Hindus and Sikhs; in Ethiopia, the Muslim Harars are isolated from the Amharic Christians, even though they are linguistically and ethnically homogeneous; in Burma, the Muslim Arakans, due to religious differences, are separated from the remaining Burmese--for the most part Buddhists.

Sectarian self-awareness as a subjective phenomenon includes, on the one hand, the appreciation that representatives of the given denomination have for the qualities, actions and achievements of their own community, that is, self-



appreciation (they are, as a rule, positive) and, on the other hand, the evaluations of other, for example neighboring, denominations (frequently critical in nature). In this regard, stereotypical depictions of the qualities of other faiths are developed by the members of different religious communities in a poly-sectarian environment. For example, Muslims think Christians are deceitful and cunning; Christians think Muslims are lazy and fanatical, and the like. Such prejudices often spill over into a guarded and suspicious attitude toward members of alien communities. It is, in truth, possible to discern varying degrees of the "we--they" antithesis: from antagonism to completely peaceful non-identity, that is, not so much opposition as juxtaposition.

Certain groups and organizations are trying to transform sectarian consciousness into the main motive force of social behavior and to exploit religious feelings for political purposes. In India, ideas of communalism are thus being used in fighting for the representation of the given community in state administrative organs. By way of example, as early as 1956 the National Congress of Indian Christians demanded that the Christian community be declared a "national minority" and that places be reserved for it in legislative institutions.

As a rule, the profound reasons for communalism are rooted in the parochial sentiments of certain groups of the bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and religious figures that are pursuing economic interests favorable to themselves that they put forth as the interests of the whole community. The communalists are based in their propaganda and political activity first and foremost on those socio-psychological factors that hinder the affirmation of the priority of an Indian nationwide (or even nationwide or for the given ethnic community, as, for example, the Punjabs) consciousness over a sectarian one. Communalist ideas are becoming particularly dangerous in the hands of separatists, especially Sikh separatists, who favor the secession of the territory populated by the Sikhs from India.

#### Profound Reasons for the Worsening of the Sectarian Situation

The true substance of the sectarian conflicts is concealed in the socio-economic, political and sometimes demographic spheres. The history of the mutual relations of the Christian peoples and the Turkish Muslims in the Ottoman Empire is a striking illustration of the true socio-economic story of these conflicts. Whereas earlier, before the worsening of the competitive capitalist struggle associated with the late appearance of the Turkish bourgeoisie on the scene, religious tolerance toward other believers on the part of the Muslims and a peaceful attitude toward Christians had existed for quite a long time, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries these attitudes were abruptly altered. In striving to drive their Christian partners from the positions they had won, the young Turkish bourgeoisie resorted more and more to pogroms and slaughter, which became their principal trump card in the struggle against the local Christian bourgeoisie.

Another example is from the recent past. The crisis in Lebanon, which in 1975 spilled over into permanent civil war, took shape gradually. Aside from many reasons of an external and internal political nature, one of the sources of

the conflict was the issue of power, which the Maronite (Christian) upper reaches of society, representing the chief financial and trade groupings, tried to consolidate in their own hands, repelling the onslaught on the gathered force of the Muslim bourgeoisie, demanding reforms that met the interests of the Muslims. Added to this was a demographic aspect: The Muslims in Lebanon had steadily overtaken the Christians in numbers.

As is well known, at one time a special system of proportional participation in state organs by representatives of different denominations was created in Lebanon for the purpose of ensuring the political interests of the religious communities. The president was chosen from among the Maronites, the prime minister from among the Sunnis and the chairman of parliament from the Shiites. The Christians had 54 deputies in parliament, while the Muslims had 45. This correlation reflected the results of the only population census to that time--1932--in Lebanon: 792,000 Christians and 536,000 Muslims. Since then, however, Muslims have substantially "outstripped" the Christians in numbers--chiefly as a result of greater natural growth. In this connection, Muslim communities (Shiites, Sunnis and Druze) came to demand a review of the former system of rule. The right-wing Christian opposition met this with armed conflict with the support of Israel, the United States and several Western European countries.

The difference in the levels of socio-economic development of the communities can also serve as a profound cause of the sectarian conflict. In recent years, tempestuous events associated with the sectarian-separatist movements of the Sikhs have occurred in the Indian state of Punjab, where they comprise the majority of the population. Punjab is "the richest state" in India, with a comparatively high per-capita income. This is basically explained by the rapid development of agriculture here in recent years, chiefly commodity cultivation. There are many rich peasants among the Punjab Sikhs, the share of medium and large cultivators is great and the bourgeois segment is considerable. It is namely representatives of it that are the inspiration for ideas of separatism, seeing in it a means of securing their economic welfare against possible infringements on the part of the "poor" states (at least via the imposition of additional taxes for the purpose of redistributing wealth).

The tax policies of the government, perceived by some communities as unjust, can worsen communal contradictions. The confrontation between Sunnis and Shiites in Pakistan in 1979-80 was provoked by a law on the imposition of the charitable "zakyat" tax on the bank deposits of all Muslims. The Shiite bourgeoisie saw in this law an infringement on their capital on the part of the Sunnis, since, in the first place, the Shiites were a much larger share of the trade, industrial and financial bourgeoisie than the Sunnis, and second, the funds obtained from the zakyat were to be distributed principally among the Sunnis, since they comprise up to 90 percent of Pakistani Muslims. The Shiite sects--Isma'ilis, Akhmadeys and others--protested the fact that the zakyat, collected primarily from Shiites, was to be used in the interests of the Sunni majority. They organized demonstrations and sit-down strikes that were halted only after a presidential declaration on the introduction of corrections into the law that took into account the financial interests of the Shiite bourgeoisie.

In 1979-83, unrest with a religious tinge but caused by socio-economic and demographic factors occurred in the Indian state of Assam. The proportion of Muslims in the population had grown sharply--up to 30-40 percent--here by the beginning of the 1980s, caused by the mass immigration of refugees from Bangladesh. The demographic pressure of the new settlers and their competition in the realm of enterprise and in the workforce market led to a local outburst of nationalism, the more so as Muslims had received more and more representation in the Legislative Assembly of Assam: six deputy's chairs in 1952, 28 in 1980 and 34 in 1983 (there are 126 delegates in all). The enriched segments of Assam Hindus saw in this process a threat to their own political interests and, speculating on the religious and communal prejudices of the indigenous population living under difficult material conditions, unleashed a movement "in defense of the rights of the sons of the land (that is, the aboriginal population--D.Ye.) from the encroachment of outsiders." The government of India was able with difficulty to halt the disorder and bloody clashes inspired by the leaders of this movement.

The policies of authorities that strangle the interests of some community can also lay the foundation for conflict. Such policies with respect to the Moros were carried out by the government of the Philippines after the winning of independence in 1946. The local government in the districts was given over to Christian officials, the best land was cultivated by Christians and the Moro settlement area was subjected to discrimination in financing from the state budget. Moro demonstrations for autonomy started in this climate, and then a separatist movement was unleashed for the secession of the islands of Mindanao and Palawan and the Sulu Archipelago from the Philippines. Another example is from the former Ugandan regime of Idi Amin (a Muslim himself) was facilitated by the fact that the reigning position in the government apparatus was occupied by Muslims, although the size of the Muslim community in the country did not exceed six or seven percent of the population. The command posts in the army were also granted primarily to Muslims. Overt persecution of Christians then began. All of this led to intercommunal conflict.

Those sectarian contradictions into which neighboring states are drawn, transforming a local conflict into a regional one, have particular danger for the normal peaceful development of not only individual countries, but whole regions as well. An example of this is the crisis provoked by the imperialists in Lebanon, into which were dragged several countries of the Near and Middle East to one extent or another. In 1977-78, the internal conflicts in Ogaden (Ethiopia), inflamed from without, spilled over into a Somali-Ethiopian war, and a number of Arab countries at that time came out against condemning the Somali aggression, perceiving the principle of Muslim solidarity in their own way. The authorities of Pakistan frequently strive to impart an international Indo-Pakistani nature to the internal Indian-Muslim conflicts in India and appeal to Muslim countries for support therein. The separatism of the Arakan Muslims in Burma had introduced certain difficulties into its mutual relations with Pakistan and Bangladesh. The internal conflict in Chad periodically takes the form of a Franco-Libyan confrontation, and the United States is intervening more and more actively in it as well.



## External Political Factors of Sectarian Conflicts

The external political factor plays an important role, and sometimes the chief role, in the worsening of the sectarian situation: it is most often caused by the intervention of external forces.

Thus, over the entire history of independent India, sectarian movements, especially sectarian separatism, have been incited and supported by imperialist forces that have no vested interest in the existence of a powerful and unified Indian state. British agents inflamed Hindu-Muslim conflicts and organized bloody clashes between members of the Hindu and Muslim communities as early as during the colonial period. In 1947 the government of Great Britain, finally forced to grant independence to India, made use of the disparities between the Hindus and Muslims and divided the country into two dominions--the Indian union and Pakistan (today the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan). Even today the separatism of individual sectarian groupings is strongly supported from abroad. Elements in Kashmir have become more active that have come forward with the slogan "Islamic revolution" with demands for the independence or the annexation of the state to Pakistan. In the state of Punjab, bordering Pakistan, the separatists from the Sikh community have called for the creation of the "independent state of Khalistan or Sikhistan."

These actions of the internal reaction are planned, directed and supported from Pakistan and the United States. The so-called Kirkpatrick Plan, prepared by the CIA, envisages the dismemberment of India into a series of small states. The House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress adopted a resolution to conduct a "hearing on Punjab," which is gross interference in the internal affairs of India. With the participation of the CIA, the United States has also prepared the "Brahmaputra Plan" on the creation of a special state in the northeastern part of India. In the state of Assam, speeches against the resettlers are also inspired by foreign agents. The party leadership of the Assam separatists' party--the All-Assam Council of the People's Struggle--has practically fulfilled the instructions of the aforementioned "plan": access to the sea for Assam via the Brahmaputra River and the ultimate creation of a separate state, that is, the transformation of Assam and the territories adjoining it in the northeast portion of the country into an American outpost in a strategically important point in Asia at the junction of the borders of India, North Korea, Burma, Bhutan and Bangladesh have been demanded.

External forces are not encroaching on state borders alone. In directing the actions of the separatists, sending terrorists into India trained with the Afghan rebels in Pakistani camps, they are also encroaching on the national character of the Indians, trying, using violence that is uncharacteristic of the Indian peoples, to undermine the country from within. This policy of fanning violence and hatred reached its culmination on 31 Oct 84, when terrorists assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. "The chief danger to the unity of India is today based on religious fanaticism, separatism and other schismatic forces that enjoy powerful external support," says the White Book of the Indian government about the events in the state of Punjab.

Another attempt to use the sectarian situation in the countries of the Near and Middle East in the interests of imperialism and neocolonialism is the so-called Louis Plan, at the heart of which lies the establishment of new state borders and even the creation of new state formations: a southern Lebanese Christian "state," actually an Israeli protectorate, a Shiite "state" in El-Khas, an oil-bearing region of Saudi Arabia on the Persian Gulf coast, a Kurdish Sunni "state" from the regions of Iran and Iraq populated by Kurds etc. It is also well known that Israel and the United States are striving not only to chop off the southern part of Lebanon, but also to dismember this country altogether on sectarian principles, using the discord between Muslims and Christians, on the one hand, and playing on the contradictions among the different Muslim communities (Sunnis, Shiites and Druze) on the other. The U.S. CIA and the Israeli Mossad--two intelligence and sabotage services--have been at the sources of the Lebanese tragedy from the very beginning.

Even today Lebanon remains the target of their aggressive actions. The aggressive plans were not relegated to the archives after the ruin of the military adventure in 1982 and the forced withdrawal of the Israelis from the portion of Lebanese territory they occupied. The efforts of Washington and Tel Aviv are aimed as before at inflaming intestine strife among the Lebanese, the majority of whom are becoming more and more distinctly aware of the necessity of the most rapid possible restoration of national concord in this long-suffering country. The Damascus Agreement concluded in December of 1985 among the principal rival groups in Lebanon, for example, was disrupted with the participation of Israeli and Western agents, which turned into new acts of armed confrontation of the communities. The mechanism of these inflammatory tactics is quite simple. Unknown people set off explosions and shoot up institutions, army posts and the headquarters of the Lebanese parties. Next, leaflets are scattered about blaming these acts on those for whom it is most advantageous for Tel Aviv to blame. In the strained climate of Beirut, this is enough to incite new communal clashes.

The inciting and exploitation of sectarian conflicts by external forces today requires as never before effective opposition to these neocolonial tactics with a corresponding policy by the liberated countries of resolving the not-always-simple extant mutual religious and sectarian relations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Analogous tactics are used by imperialists to inflame ethnic and national contradictions in the countries of Asia and Africa. See: Dm. Yermeyev. "Anatomy of Ethnic Conflicts"--AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1981, No 6.
2. The communities, the sizes of which do not exceed one percent of the population of the country, need not be taken into account when analyzing the sectarian situation, since due to their demographic insignificance, they do not, as a rule, play a material role in sectarian contradictions.

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AMOUNT OF AFRICAN STATES' MILITARY EXPENDITURES DEPICTED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 87 pp 18-20

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Volkov: "Militarization Versus Development"]

[Text] The military spending of African countries has doubled over the last 10 years, and its proportion of the GNP of the continent has come to be higher than for the developed capitalist states taken together. It is well known that militarization is one of the chief causes of foreign-currency squabbling, inflation, limitations of accumulation funds, slowing of economic growth and decline in appropriations for social needs in the West. Its ruinous influence on developing society, already burdened with a whole set of most acute problems requiring urgent resolution via the maximum use of all internal resources and the application of external ones, is becoming more and more intense.

A Continent Torn Apart by Wars

Data on the rapid growth in military spending, swallowing up an ever greater share of the GNP, are, so to speak, a static reflection of the tragedies that many of the nations of Africa are suffering as a consequence of wars and political conflicts, which unfortunately remain a characteristic feature of African reality.

Historians and political scientists confirm that since 1945, over 90 states have waged no fewer than 150 wars on the territory of 80 countries in which 20.7 million people perished. A considerable portion of these wars took place in Africa.

The Algerian people had to wage a difficult armed struggle for independence from 1954 to 1962 (1.5 million casualties), while the same was true over the course of 10 years for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau etc. About two million lives were lost in the civil war of 1967-70 in Nigeria, where separatists, prodded by certain imperialist forces, tried to chop off the richest oil-bearing regions from the federation. Due to the fault of the former mother countries and dictatorial regimes, for the sake of whose rescue the Western powers intervened, Zaire became an arena for bloodshed in 1960-65 and 1977-78, while Chad has remained so for a quarter of a century. Military

action on the Horn of Africa in 1976-80, in the Western Sahara, like a number of other smaller clashes and tense situations that did not spill over into outright armed conflict, also stimulated the militarization of the continent. (I realize that this sad list is far from complete.)

The increase in defense spending is becoming more and more necessary to oppose the state terrorism practiced by the imperialist powers against the African countries. The barbaric attack of the United States against Libya in the northern part of the continent and the unceasing aggression of racist South Africa against neighboring states in the south are links in a single "neoglobalist" chain.

South Africa, among the most militarized countries in the world, is constantly destabilizing the situation with its criminal and provocationist acts not only near its own borders, but at a considerable distance from them as well. Here is a short chronicle of their crimes: military and economic support for Chombe, trying to separate the mining province of Katanga from the Congo (today Zaire) with a capital in Leopoldville, in 1961; the refusal to fulfill the UN resolution to halt their guardianship of Namibia, their illegal occupation of that country and, later, its transformation into a beachhead for aggression against the contiguous states, in 1966; support for the Nigerian separatists in 1966-70; and, since 1975, arming, training and financing terrorist bands in Angola and Mozambique, raids against military and civilian facilities in these countries, as well as Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and the murder of the leaders of national-liberation movements in various cities of the "front-line" states along with sabotage and attacks on railways vitally important for the countries of the southern African region. The harm they inflicted over 1980-85 (taking into account losses from "economic terrorism"--arbitrary border closings, reductions of access to South Africa for migrant workers, interruptions in electric power and delays in the transport of liquid fuels and the like) is estimated at 16-17 billion dollars, while the number that has perished is reaching 250,000. About five million former residents of the destroyed southern regions of Angola and Mozambique have been turned into refugees.

The use by the United States, France and several other members of NATO of the territory of a number of African countries for the creation of military bases, and their troops for direct participation in armed actions against national-liberation movements, is destabilizing the political situation in Africa even more. Ethnic conflicts and long-standing territorial disputes inherited from colonial times also play their own role. Militarization is becoming a material element of the policies of some conservative regimes, sacrificing genuine national interests so as to reinforce their position and demonstrate strength to their neighbors. In this climate, practically no country can feel secure. Even peace-loving states (the overwhelming majority, naturally), including those with progressive regimes, are forced to divert funds from the fulfillment of programs of economic development and social transformation to the needs of defense, so as to avert the real or imagined threat of armed intervention in their internal affairs and protect their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.



## Superarming

The liberated countries spend more for military purposes than they obtain in the form of aid for economic development. The sum spent on imported weapons alone is equal to a quarter of their foreign indebtedness, has reached a trillion dollars and places an unbearable burden on their national economies. There are about 15 million servicemen in these countries--more than in the developed states--and the proportion of the Third World in global military spending has increased to 17 percent, greatly surpassing its share of industrial production.

There exists a trend that is especially unfavorable for the developing countries: an ever greater portion of their military spending goes for the procurement and upkeep of weapons and military technology, payments for foreign military specialists, the acquisition of ammunition and auxiliary equipment and, correspondingly, an ever lesser share goes for providing for the people.

Spending on arms imports is increasing at a most rapid rate in Africa. From 1961 through 1970, it totaled about four billion dollars, while from 1978 through 1982, that is, a period half as long, it was 31.5 billion dollars.

Almost half of these arms were sold by the United States. In 1985, for example, they sent them directly to 18 African states, of which five--Zaire, Senegal, Cameroon, Liberia and Botswana--were under "basic delivery" programs that envisage the transformation of these countries into a sort of American arsenal on the continent. A Special Fund for Arms Procurements, formed by the Reagan administration, has functioned since 1982, financing arms deliveries to young states, including African ones, so that they accumulate stockpiles of arms and military materials there that could in the event of necessity be immediately switched to nearby countries and regions and used by both American allies and by troops of the United States themselves.

France and Great Britain are also major arms suppliers to Africa. They are furthermore also sold by West Germany, Belgium, Italy and a number of other Western countries and, comparatively recently, by Brazil and Israel. The latter specializes in the supply of arms not so much to legal governments (Liberia, Zaire et.) as to counter-revolutionary organizations that are striving to overthrow progressive regimes (in Mozambique, for example). A specific feature of Israeli deliveries is also the fact that no small portion of them is paid for by the United States according to a bilateral agreement of 1981 on "strategic collaboration."

Massive procurements of weapons, forcing the African states to incur non-productive expenditures in hard currency or causing further growth in their foreign indebtedness, cause real harm to society in the most varied of spheres. As estimated by UN experts, every 200 million dollars of military imports adds about 20 deaths per thousand new-born children, 14 illiterates among every 100 adults and reduces the average life span by three or four years for the theoretical developing state with a population of 8.5 million and an average annual per-capita income of 350 dollars (the majority of the African countries are quite close to this model).



Africa is moreover becoming a more and more "reliable" purchaser of weapons: its share of the military imports of all developing countries was 8.5 percent in 1968-72, 17.4 percent in 1973-77 and 21.8 percent in 1978-82, surpassing the proportion of the continent in the overall number of population of the Third World.

The expansion of their own military production in the African countries is hindered by the insufficient development of their industrial base. In places where industrialization has already taken its first steps, however, a course is taken of building enterprises that can produce this or that type of modern weaponry (the discussion does not concern South Africa, which has a large military-industrial complex that collaborates with the leading multinational corporations of the West).

Thus, Egypt began fulfilling a corresponding program as early as the 1960s. President Sadat counted on combining three components for this: Western technology, the financial resources of the Arab oil-exporting countries and Egyptian manpower. The Camp David deal with Israel deprived Sadat's plan of "petrodollar" support, but Egypt was given Western technology. The National Ministry of the Defense Industry has 16 plants that generate products worth 240 million dollars a year, considerably exceeding the sum spent by the country for arms imports (162 million dollars annually from 1980-84). Egypt produces missiles and small combat vessels in particular. Under agreement with the French Dassault Corporation, under licensing from it and with its technical assistance, several components for the Mirage-2000 fighter are manufactured there and are used in the assembly of the aircraft in France. Egypt receives completed aircraft in return. A certain portion of Egyptian military output is exported to West Germany and Nigeria.

Military production, as opposed to other sectors of industry in the developing countries, is not based on direct or portfolio investments by multinational corporations, but rather on licensing agreements on technical collaboration and--more and more often recently--on subcontractor relations. The multinationals thus do not take any risk upon themselves in connection with participating in establishing a military industry in Third-World countries, bear no financial or other responsibility and need not fear the nationalization of military enterprises (created, as a rule, within the framework of the state sector), while at the same time they have actual control over them and obtain high profits from their functioning.

In Nigeria, the state Corporation of Defense Sectors built a military plant in the city of Kaduna, where armored personnel carriers and tanks are produced under contract with the firm of Steyr-Daimler Puch. The assembly of military helicopters of the West German firm of Messerschmitt is also done in this country, and light firearms are produced under licensing and with the technical assistance of well-known Belgian and Italian companies.

The complete picture of military production in Africa is concealed from us by a veil of secrecy. According to fragmentary published information, however, it can be concluded that the output of modern types of weaponry on location is being arranged by many states of the continent, although Africa still trails

Asia and Latin America in this regard. The militarization of industry at the earliest stages of industrialization is fraught with serious difficulties for the development of the national economies overall.

#### A High Price

The growth of military spending is correspondingly reducing the accumulation fund. In some African countries, it already exceeds 40 percent of domestic investment. Instead of being used for purposes of development and raising the living standard of the population, a considerable portion of national capital, in the graphic expression of K. Marx, might as well be thrown into the water.

The arms race is today one of the chief obstacles on the path of the socio-economic progress of mankind. For the countries of Africa, this general tenet is supplemented with a series of specific factors, by virtue of which militarization is an especially heavy burden for them.

First of all, the principal body of the least developed countries is concentrated on the continent, for the residents of which the dilemma of "development versus militarization" literally means a choice between life or death from hunger and illnesses caused by poverty. Human sacrifices on the altar of the god of war are made in Africa even when there is no overt military action. The Africans therein are not suffering from the burdens connected with their own countries being dragged into the arms race alone. The spending of hundreds of millions of dollars for the creation and accumulation of ever more destructive weaponry that can destroy all life on the planet does not permit these countries to make full use of their participation in the world economy to resolve urgent and key problems. "It is immoral to throw hundreds of billions at the creation of means of destroying mankind when hundreds of millions of people do not have enough to eat and are deprived of the bare necessities." These words of M.S. Gorbachev clearly reflect the conditional nature of overcoming poverty and backwardness in Africa, as well as other developing continents, through a halt to the worldwide arms race.

Second, for the African countries, the majority of which are small in size and have limited resources, it is extremely important to develop regional economic collaboration based on the concept of "collective self-sufficiency" as advanced by the non-aligned movement. Militarization, organically linked with an increase in political tensions on the continent and the ripening of conflicts, including armed ones, among neighboring states, counteracts this objective necessity. A vicious circle of mutually dependent militarization and mistrust takes shape. The African countries are set up with arms to a considerable extent under the influence of the incompleteness of the process of national liberation, under conditions of the broad expansion of imperialist and neocolonialist forces carrying out a policy of "divide and conquer" and inflaming suspicion and hostility on the continent. Militarization in turn inflames the situation still further, constantly violating the shaky "equation of fear" and tempts those who have arms at their disposal to employ them for political purposes.

Third, Africa, to a greater extent than Asia and the more so Latin America, remains an agrarian and raw-materials appendage of the imperialist centers. Agricultural and mineral raw materials form the basis of the production specialization of almost all of the African states. The task of diversification and structural restructuring of the economy, including industrialization that meets the conditions of each country and that transformation of agriculture that would give them the opportunity of achieving production self-sufficiency, is consequently an especially pressing one for them. Militarization fundamentally distorts the very process of economic development in structural restructuring much more strongly than in countries with multisector economies and intrinsic production, and displays its alien essence that is incompatible with genuine economic growth.

Finally, the African countries feel a particularly acute dependence, first and foremost economic, on the imperialist states and the multinational corporations. Militarization just aggravates this dependence and engenders new forms of it. For the poorly developed country, "independence" acquired instead of modern weaponry is illusory. In point of fact, it turns out to be dependence along many lines of the suppliers of arms, military supplies, spare parts and munitions. The African states that are developing their own arms production are completely beholden to the multinationals of the Western military-industrial complex.

Militarization is a ruinous path for Africa. The settlement of conflicts and the resolution of African problems using political methods rather than arms, intolerance of imperialist interference and a cessation of state terrorism, including a halt to supporting anti-government forces that are destabilizing the climate in a number of countries, respect for the rights of people to choose this or that development path and to be free of the remnants of colonialism along with apartheid and racism, condemned by the world community--here are the real alternatives to militarism that can ensure social and economic progress on the continent.

These alternatives are harmonious with the resolutions adopted by the 8th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries that was held in the fall of 1986 in Harare, the capital of the "front-line" African state of Zimbabwe. The task was advanced there in particular of transforming the immense spaces where the non-aligned states are located, including the African ones, into peace zones--the basins of the south Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. The realization of this idea, noted representatives of the African continent at the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind," would help to turn back the process of militarization in Africa, would have a positive influence on the economic and social development of the countries on the continent and would facilitate the arrangement of mutually beneficial and fruitful collaboration among them.

According to the calculations of the American economist and Nobel Prize Laureate V. Leontyev, with disarmament the per-capita GNP of Africa will grow to 1.5-2.5 times more than with a continuation of the arms race. Disarmament will increase the volume and effectiveness of development aid to the African countries, since the aid that is of a military nature today could be switched

to socio-economic purposes, along with part of the funds freed up as a result of the decrease in global military spending.

A halt to militarization in Africa would not only have a beneficial effect on the fate of the countries and peoples of that continent, but would also assist in changing the climate of the whole world for the better and make a material contribution to creating an all-encompassing system of international security.

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IMPERIALIST INTERFERENCE ACCUSED OF FANNING CONFLICT IN CHAD

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 87 pp 21-23

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences G. Babayan: "Imperialist Intervention: Causes, Goals, Results"]

[Text] The intervention of imperialist powers--France, and then the United States--in the internal affairs of Chad has gone on for over a quarter of a century. The raging and endless fratricidal war there was incited, in essence, as early as 1960, when the French ruling circles, forced to "grant" independence to this poly-ethnic country, assisted in the coming to power of a president suitable to them, Francois Tombalbaye--a representative of the enriched segments of the Catholic and animist population of the southern regions, where the cultivation of export agricultural crops was developed to the great benefit of the neocolonialists. The government paid no attention to the Islamized northern and eastern regions.

It is no accident that these regions became, in the middle of the 1960s, the base for the founding of the National Liberation Front (FROLINA) that developed armed struggle against the regime, during which the popular masses suffered terrible poverty and need. French subunits located in Chad frequently were included with the government army in operations against the uprisings. In the climate of profound political and economic crisis engendered by the many years of civil war, a group of Chadian officers overthrew Tombalbaye in April of 1975. The Supreme Military Council they formed headed by General Felix Malloum, however, pursued policies that differed little from the former ones, and the civil war did not abate. Notwithstanding the frictions among various groupings within FROLINA caused by the ambitions of its leaders and tribal disputes, detachments of northerners inflicted a decisive defeat on F. Malloum and occupied the capital of N'Djamena in February of 1979.

Thanks to the efforts of a number of African states, a conference was convened in August of that same year in Lagos (Nigeria) with all 11 rival Chadian military and political groupings participating (nine of them were affiliated with FROLINA). Based on agreements reached there, a Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) was formed in November. It was headed by the leader of one of the influential factions of FROLINA, Goukhouni Weddei, and the post of defense minister was occupied by Hissein Habre, who had split his group off



from the Front in 1976 and was the former prime minister in the latter stages of the rule of F. Malloum.

Soon H. Habre, whose pro-Western orientation was no secret, left the TGNU and, having obtained the financial and military support of Sadat's Egypt and the Sudan in the person of the dictator Nimeiry and several other conservative African regimes, mutinied against the government. This caused G. Weddei to appeal to Libya to bring in its troops to the Chadian capital in order to keep control of the city.

A new stage in the internationalization of the Chadian conflict began: the United States, which had earlier preferred to remain in the shadows and act through the hands of its French allies, advanced the slogan of fighting "Libyan aggression." France also became sharply more active, feeling that the presence of Libyans in N'Djamena threatened its interests in Chad and all of Africa. Paris convinced G. Weddei to evacuate them, making its granting of economic and financial aid, which the TGNU, by the way, was not expecting, conditional upon it. When the forces of H. Habre went over to the offensive in the summer of 1982, the government quit the capital.

Roughly a year later the situation in Chad worsened once again. The armed formations of the TGNU attacked the enemy and routed him. In order to avoid the fall of H. Habre, France and the United States allocated additional military aid for him in the sums of 40 and 25 million dollars respectively and pressured Zaire, whence some 2,700 soldiers and officers arrived at his disposal. All of this did not effect a turnaround in the course of military operations, however, and in August of 1983 Paris decided on overt intervention--it sent its own troops to Chad, which had been withdrawn as recently as 1980 at the demand of the TGNU.<sup>1</sup>

After H. Habre broke off the negotiations with the leaders of other Chadian groupings that had been prepared by the OAU and projected for Addis-Ababa for January of 1984, the battles became even crueler. The French command put their aircraft into operation. One of them was shot down and the pilot perished. In April the interventionists suffered new losses: nine scouts were blown up by a mine. At the same time, during a visit to Chad by French Prime Minister P. Morois, the authorities in N'Djamena declared to him the necessity of increasing military aid by 100 million francs, including the delivery of weaponry, trucks and jeeps and the dispatching of advisers to their general staff along with instructors to train the soldiers and a group of servicemen to protect the "president." H. Habre further requested that the French not only fight in the north, but in southern regions as well, where his power was tottering.

In Paris they finally realized that the conflict was taking on a exceedingly protracted quality. It was becoming more and more difficult to explain to society in whose name French soldiers were perishing in Chad and 12 million francs for the expeditionary corps were being spent. The ruling circles of France began to be inclined toward the idea of compromise between the opposing sides, naturally with the preservation of the positions and influence of the former mother country.

Washington, on the other hand, did everything so as to fan the flames and drag Libya into military action, and then to place the blame on them for the worsening situation in the center of the African continent. The United States thus pushed France into direct participation in combat operations and their shift to the Chadian-Libyan border in every way possible. In France itself, and first and foremost in the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff, the American plans had highly placed allies. It was not for nothing that the former foreign minister, M. Jobert, warned that the "French government, concerned with protecting its position in Africa, did not notice to what extent they were being manipulated and how much France, intervening in the Chadian conflict, risked straying from its own convictions and long-term interests. We were once again beginning to follow in the wake of U.S. policies."

The common sense of public figures headed by the then minister of foreign affairs, C. Cheysson, ultimately won the upper hand and convinced President Mitterand to agree to the arrangement of secret French-Libyan contacts in February of 1984 for the purpose of settling the Chadian problem. Also playing a role was the fact that France had suffered much from the curtailment of trade and economic relations with Libya, especially its exports to that country, due to the confrontations foisted on them from without. Above all, the African community loudly accused Paris of carrying out neocolonialist and interventionist policies on the continent.

After intense negotiations lasting several months, agreement was reached in September of 1984, during the visit of C. Cheysson to Libya, on the complete and simultaneous withdrawal of French forces and Libyan elements supporting the TGNU, as well as all arms and equipment at their disposal, within 45 days. The agreement, quite unexpected for H. Habre and, to a considerable extent, for the United States, evoked the strongest dissatisfaction among them. A furious propaganda campaign was undertaken by American mass-media organs against it. France was blackmailed by the fact that the United States could send its own troops to Chad in place of the French ones, but then Washington rather than Paris would determine the development of events in central Africa. At the instigation of the United States, H. Habre refused to allow Libyan representatives into N'Djamena to observe the withdrawal of French subunits.

France, moreover, did not throw H. Habre to the winds of fate at all. At the beginning of October 1984, he was invited to Paris "to calm him down," where he was promised economic and military aid on the scale of 330 million francs, that is, triple that which was planned, along with the continued training and equipping of his army, the leaving of a large group of advisers, instructors and paratroopers in the country that would serve to prop up the regime and, furthermore, to transfer a portion of the funds designated for the French expeditionary force to payments for the salaries of the officers and soldiers of N'Djamena. Far from all of the servicemen withdrawn from Chad by 9 Nov 84 returned to France. About a thousand men, or more than a third of the total number, were transferred to bases in Bangui and Bouar (Central African Republic); some aircraft also landed in the vicinity, both in the Central African Republic and in Gabon. In the event of necessity, the return trip would take two or three hours, and a maximum of a day for the soldiers.

The majority of the African countries received the evacuation of French troops with approval, associating with it hopes for a political settlement of the Chadian problem. Several states, however--Gabon, Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal and others--perceived the actions of France as "weakness and inability to oppose Libya." At the 11th Franco-African Summit Meeting held a month later in Bujumbura (Burundi), F. Mitterand felt it necessary to assure them that "France will not permit anyone to do whatever comes into his head in Africa. It knows both how to risk and how to avoid useless risks." On the eve of this meeting, he furthermore sent C. Cheysson, who had been sharply criticized by the "moderate" African regimes, into retirement.

At the initiative of the president of the Congo, D. Sassou-Nguesso, preparations were underway at the same time for the convocation of a "peace conference on Chad" under the aegis of the OAU with the participation of representatives of all Chadian military and political groups, including delegations from the TGNU and N'Djamena. The meeting was opened in Brazzaville on 22 Oct 84, lasted five days and unfortunately concluded without results, since H. Habre had demanded in ultimatum form his recognition as the "legal head of state" and his government as the "legal government of Chad."

This obstructionist policy is explained first and foremost by the fact that on the eve of the Brazzaville meeting, an emissary of R. Reagan--General V. Walters--visited N'Djamena and promised increased economic and military aid to the Habre regime and came out with gross anti-Libyan declarations. It must also be said that by this time, H. Habre had been able, with the assistance of the United States and France, to reinforce his army and improve their equipment, while having created the so-called National Union for Independence and Revolution, which all the groups collaborating with him joined, he had somewhat expanded the political base of his government. While the TGNU, due to internal differences of opinion, was undergoing an acute crisis, G. Weddei gradually lost control of several of its armed formations. All of the efforts of the OAU and a number of African countries to organize a new meeting of the leaders of the Chadian groups in 1985-86 were unsuccessful: H. Habre, "inspired" by the aid of France and the United States, advanced preliminary demands of a political and protocol nature that were ever more unacceptable to his opponents.

The next "explosion" occurred in February of 1986, right when anti-Libyan hysteria reached a paroxysm in the United States. According to the considered opinion of the foreign and Soviet press, the designs of the imperialists included the creation of a "second front" on the southern border of Libya.<sup>2</sup> In truth, had the February offensive of the TGNU troops not occurred, Washington would have had to concoct it. It gave France a pretext for carrying out Operation Epervier (Hawk)--once again sending 1,200 of its servicemen and combat aircraft to Chad, which aircraft bombed the runway serving the principal airfield of the TGNU in the settlement of Wadi-Doum in the northern part of the country. After reciprocal bombing raids were made on the airfield in N'Djamena, the French air-defense subunits in Chad were armed with Hawk and Crotale missiles. The United States in turn decided to increase aid to Habre by another 10 million dollars. As the minister of information of the N'Djamena regime declared, "American aid supplements French aid and vice



versa, since the United States and France are constantly coordinating their actions and hold regular consultations."

Major new lots of American weaponry and ammunition were delivered to Chad in August of 1986, after the visit of General R. Lawson, deputy chief of staff of U.S. armed forces in Europe, to Chad. His negotiations with H. Habre were surrounded by particular secrecy, but it became known that they discussed plans for transforming Chad into "a base of American influence in central Africa and pressure on Libya."

Right after R. Lawson, some 50 American advisers arrived in Chad, most of them senior officers--specialists in so-called "dirty operations." Their chief mission was to develop specific plans for the seizure of the northern regions in conjunction with the general staff in N'Djamena. The United States expressed readiness to transfer Habre's troops there on its own aircraft, provide air cover for them and, if required, bomb Libyan territory.

In December of 1986, with the tacit approval of Paris (the French leaders agreed to grant military and technical aid to N'Djamena, but refused the opportunity for the direct participation of its contingents in the combat operations in northern Chad), troops of Habre moved to the 16th parallel that divided the "spheres of influence" of the opposing sides. Bloody battles took place on the Tibesti Plateau and in the area of Bardai, Zouar and Wour. France and the United States immediately began to supply their proteges with new shipments of arms.

The words of a representative of the U.S. State Department, C. Redman, that "the United States is acting in close contact with the governments of France and Chad so as to determine namely what weaponry and ammunition should be shipped" are worthy of attention. Over the last month of 1986 alone, H. Habre received 15 million dollars from Washington for the procurement of combat equipment, including the latest Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. As for France, it also sent its advisers and observers into the combat-operations zone for practical assistance to the N'Djamena army, although earlier Paris had offered assurances that its servicemen would not cross the 16th parallel. After this, aircraft of the French Air Force bombed a number of cities and towns in northern Chad, as well as delivered weaponry and fuel to Habre's troops. In February of 1987, after consultations with Washington, France sent over another thousand of its soldiers, bringing their number to 2,500. According to press reports, they intended to create new bases in the cities of Abeche and Biltine, located near the 16th parallel.

It was first time since the withdrawal of France from the military organization of NATO that Paris had entered so deeply into purely military collaboration with Washington. Each of their steps in Chad were preceded by secret negotiations at various levels where the situation in this country was analyzed, scenarios for intervention were developed, details were elaborated and roles were assigned. The fundamental policy of both imperialist powers was the same, although there were nuances as well as defined by their foreign policies and relations with African countries. France was filled with determination to preserve and reinforce its positions in Chad, which it considers to be one of the chief beachheads in central Africa. At the same

time, an end to the chronic conflict, for which the former mother country bears direct responsibility and is costing French taxpayers too much, evidently would suit Paris. On the other hand, it would be advantageous for the American administration, in whose opinion Chad is located in a "zone of U.S. vital interests," to maintain the explosive situation there, since this permits Washington to act in the "French preserve" and, chiefly, to raise tensions on the southern border of Libya.

The "anti-Libya syndrome" has undoubtedly penetrated to France as well, which, however, has an objective vested interest in the development of trade and economic collaboration with Tripoli, and not at all in a sharp worsening of bilateral relations and even less so in armed conflict. However it may be, on the Chad issue France and the United States are unified on the main point: not to allow progressively inclined elements to come to power and to ensure the control of Habre over the principal regions of the country.

Imperialist intervention not only does not facilitate the resolution of the Chad problem, but rather makes even more acute the contradictions among the various military and political groups. Having come to believe in his powerful patrons, in July of 1986 Habre rejected the intermediary services of the OAU and certain African states altogether, in that manner practically closing the door to national reconciliation. To the extent that French and American arms deliveries grow, the number of casualties among the servicemen and the civilian population will continue to increase. The so-called economic aid of Paris and Washington has not and cannot bring anything good to the Chadian people: according to UN data, the country is last in the world in per-capita income--80 dollars a year.

More and more people, including in Chad itself, understand that the foundation for settling the conflict can only be direct and equal negotiations between the opposing sides without outside intervention. Only thus will the long-suffering people be able to achieve genuine national reconciliation and finally engage in the restoration of their motherland, now lying in ruins.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For the pre-history and the initial stages of development of the Chadian conflict in more detail, see: A. Matveyev. "The Roots of the Fratricidal Conflict in Chad."--AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1980, No 7; V. Yevgenyev. "Chad. Whose Fault is the Bloodshed?" AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1984, No 5.
2. See, for example: S. Kulik. "Battles on the Way."--AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1986, No 5.

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ORIGIN, TACTICS OF ANC'S 'UMKHONTO WE SIZWE' DESCRIBED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 87 pp 24-25

[Article by V. Tetekin: "The Spear Bearing Freedom"]

[Text] You have probably had little occasion to speak Zulu. But why not give it a try? The word umkhonto, "spear," for example, and the word sizwe, "nation." Say them aloud and you will be convinced of the melodic nature of the Zulu language.

But uttered in South Africa, these words in the phrase Umkhonto we Sizwe acquire a terrible warlike sound. Upon hearing them, some tremble and others smile joyously. Some have a deadly hatred of what these words stand for, while others--the overwhelming majority--feel that they contain hope for a shining future. Behind them stand the rumble of explosions, the crack of machine-gun bursts and the celebration of warriors after a successful operation along with bitterness at the news of the death of their comrades.

Umkhonto we Sizwe--Spear of the Nation--is the name of the militarized wing of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the oldest national-liberation movement on the continent fighting against the apartheid regime, which keeps millions of people with dark skin in the actual status of slaves.

Over the course of almost half a century after its founding in 1912, the ANC employed only peaceful forms of political activity. And what of it? The racist authorities introduced ever newer draconian laws and heightened repressions against the recalcitrants. After the tragedy in Sharpeville, where a peaceful demonstration of black miners was shot up on 19 Mar 60, there followed a ban on democratic organizations in the country, including the ANC, the largest of them. The rulers in Pretoria assumed that they had been able to behead the resistance forces and eradicate once and for all the very idea of the possibility of resistance.

It turned out that the fire of protest, spilling rivers of the people's blood, could not have been any more inflamed. But on 16 Dec 1961, on a day when the racists were preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the defeat of the Zulus by the Boers at the Bloody River in 1838, a series of powerful explosions in the largest cities of South Africa proclaimed the beginning of armed struggle against apartheid.

The leaders of the ANC were fully aware of the fact that military operations would entail the suffering and perishing of people. The decision to take up arms was taken after profound analysis of the extant situation. As emphasized in the manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe, "the choice was not made by us, it was made by the government of the nationalists (named the ruling Nationalist Party--V.T.), which has rejected all just demands of the people for the granting of freedom and equality and answered these demands with force and force alone." The racist regime threw down the challenge to the people, and the people answered it fittingly with the creation of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Passing through periods of ascent and decline, the armed resistance was especially strengthened after the uprising of black youth in the Soweto township of Johannesburg in 1976, an uprising that brought representatives of a whole generation into the ranks of the fighters.

The patriots operate under the difficult conditions of a country that has been transformed into a gigantic concentration camp. An enormous police apparatus, a system of universal shadowing, a multitude of laws that limit the freedom of movement of black South Africans, their selection of places to live and work--all of this has made the preparation and execution of military operations more difficult. The natural conditions of South Africa also far from facilitate partisan warfare. There are no impenetrable jungles and inaccessible mountains, and even if there were, this would not ease the task of Umkhonto we Sizwe very much: after all, the army of the racist state, enjoying, in essence, the unlimited support of the United States and the other NATO countries, has modern air power at its disposal. The struggle is being waged in the cities, and moreover, in the largest ones, such as Johannesburg, Capetown and the capital of the country, Pretoria. "The people are our forests and mountains" is a slogan that reflects the confidence of the ANC warriors that they can rely in difficult moments not only on their compatriots from the underground organization, but also on all of the regular people as well who, while formally not members of the African National Conference, sympathize deeply with it.

If they were groups of terrorist-conspirators, as South African and Western propaganda tries to depict the matter, they would have perished long ago: the racist security service is a cruel, cunning and experienced opponent. The power of Umkhonto we Sizwe is not only and not so much in weapons, which, by the way, the freedom fighters use skillfully, as it is namely support on the part of the people who see them as their defenders. This support is of a quite practical rather than just a symbolic nature: one drives the car in which another escapes the battlefield, one feeds another and hides the weapons, another reports on an upcoming sweep and directs them to a safe hideout. The name of this "someone" is the people. Sometimes an operation is smashed: the fighter then knocks on the door of any home in the "black" suburbs or towns at night and says "I am from the ANC," and they hide him.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, rejecting the tactics of individual terror, is inflicting blows on military and economic facilities of the regime. In the strategy of the liberation struggle, as conceived by the ANC, these attacks, causing harm to the apartheid state, are not important in and of themselves. The instantly

spreading stories of the successful attacks of Umkhonto, who leave leaflets at the scene every time explaining the goals and mission of the ANC, facilitate growth in the self-awareness of the intimidated and oppressed people and awakens in them a belief in the effectiveness of resistance, and then a desire to be included in it. Ideas become a material force when they are mastered by the masses, emphasized V.I. Lenin. In South Africa today, the idea of national liberation is being mastered by the masses in powerful and irrepressible fashion.

The ANC considers, besides military action, the demonstrations of women against raising apartment rents, the speeches of workers for the recognition of their trade unions and the demands of black students for elimination of the system of "Bantu education," in which they, finishing secondary school at 20 years of age, have only the minimal knowledge essential for performing unskilled labor, to be contributions to the revolutionary struggle.

Police stations, oil-storage facilities, railroad lines, electric-power plants and high-tension power-line supports are flying into the air--but human casualties are few. There are in any case practically none among the civilian population. The majority of the explosions occur at night. Why? One logically assumes the simplest reason: there is less chance of being detected at night. But after all, the ANC warriors today have magnetic mines with timing devices that make it possible to have an explosion any time. The true explanation is that the ANC is fighting for power for the people and is making a maximum effort to avoid unnecessary and senseless casualties.

The racist authorities do not spare the patriots that fall into their hands. The reasoning of Pretoria--to impose death sentences on the "terrorists"--should not convince even Western legal scholars. According to a resolution adopted in 1977 by a civilian society, the national-liberation struggle has been equated to international conflicts, and thus captured fighters from Umkhonto we Sizwe enjoy the status of prisoners of war, whose killing is forbidden by the Geneva Convention of 1949, signed both by the ANC and by South Africa. The regime, however, pretending to the role of the "savior of civilization" in the region, is cynically trampling the norms of civilized behavior as fixed in international legal documents. The Hitlerite fascists behaved in precisely the same manner, killing prisoners of war in their concentration camps.

The bourgeois politicians and mass media, who love to speculate on the topic of human rights in the socialist countries, literally keep mum when the discussion touches upon the criminal violations of international agreements by the government of South Africa. The moral and ethical considerations that supposedly guide the ruling circles of the NATO powers instantly recede into the background: the regime that supplies the West with gold, diamonds, uranium and precious metals that ensure profits for the imperialist monopolies at the expense of the barbaric exploitation of the black South African workers must be defended.

Deeply convinced of the righteousness of their cause, the warriors of Umkhonto we Sizwe have demonstrated unflagging courage and readiness for self-sacrifice in the face of the executioner. The last words of 23-year-old Solomon



Makhlangu, sentenced to death by the racists for participating in a military operation, flew around the whole world: "Do not mourn for me! Think rather of those who suffer. My blood will nourish the tree on which the fruit of freedom ripens. Tell my people that I love them and that they should continue the struggle." Here is excellent testimony to the greatness of spirit of the people fighting in the ranks of the ANC.

This picture has become customary in South Africa: the entry to the police station is blocked with sandbags. And this is not in remote rural regions, but in the largest cities. Naturally, the look of such bastions instills the citizens of South Africa with a feeling of fear rather than security. After all, it means that the police themselves expect an attack any minute! They are morbidly and awkwardly aware of the need for changes. Those who do not want to think about the future are forced to do so by the ever bolder attacks of Umkhonto, and those who do think are turning to the Charter of Freedom--the political program of the ANC and its allies, adopted in 1955 at the Congress of the People, at which representatives of all races, nationalities and ethnic groups of the country assembled. Even the segments loyal to the regime, with the exception of the most diehard extremists, are beginning to see that the system of apartheid has no future and that the democratic transformations proposed in the Charter of Freedom are best implemented by peaceful means, since they are apparently inevitable all the same. White conscripts are more and more often refusing to serve in the armed forces, preferring imprisonment to participation in the evil deeds of the army.

It is also important to note that the ANC hold principled positions on issues of race relations: the struggle is being waged against the regime of the racist minority, not against people with white skin. It is instructive that "coloreds," Indians and whites, along with the Africans, are joining the formations of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The South African government forbids the publication of any reports on the actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe, but they sometimes get such a broad response that they cannot be silent about them. Lies are then put into circulation. An example of this is the "Silverton Three" operation, well-known in South Africa. According to the assertions of the local and Western press, ANC "terrorists" tried to take hostages in the Silverton Bank, but the valiant police thwarted this plan. In reality, things were somewhat different.

Three Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters, sent on their next mission, discovered that they were being followed and that they could be seized at any moment. The choice was simple: surrender or stand up for yourself. Hiding behind the thick walls of the bank, they set up an all-round defense. Witnesses later related that these fellows, draped with weapons, conducted themselves in noble and worthy fashion and were able to calm the white visitors to the hall. They were not fighting against them, but against the hated apartheid that transformed black people into "second-class people." Those whites that died during the assault were killed by the bullets of their own government. The newspapers wrote in detail how the the police penetrated the building and supposedly easily dispatched of the defenders. The truth is that the occupation was long and persistent, and many police lay in front of the bank building. The three fought to the last bullet and fell with weapons in hand.

Victory will not come tomorrow. The way to it is not only through armed struggle, but also through careful and painstaking political work in mobilizing the whole people for active resistance to the regime.

And until then--today and in a week, many months and, possibly, years more--small groups of young people with automatic weapons, grenade launchers and magnetic mines will go out into the darkness of the South African night so as to rend this darkness and silence with the flashes of explosions and the sound of gunfire. Some will not return, but they bring the hour of liberation for their country closer at the cost of their lives.

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JAPANESE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT PRAISED, 'MILITARISM' SCORED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 87 pp 30-32

[Article by I. Romanova under the rubric "Ideology and Politics": "The Peace Movement and the Propaganda of Militarism"; first 2 paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Defeat in the Second World War and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have given rise to pacifist sentiments among the Japanese population that are continuously increasing to the extent of the strengthening of the aggressive thrust of the policies of American imperialism and the Japanese ruling circles following in their wake. These sentiments are reflected in the constitution of Japan, which proclaims the rejection of war, the activity of opposition parties, trade unions and various religious, women's, youth and other organizations. The participants in the anti-nuclear movement, one of the largest mass social movements in the Land of the Rising Sun, are for peace, as are representatives of the intelligentsia: scientists, jurists, writers and physicians.

The aspirations of the Japanese people for peace are also demonstrated by a multitude of polls of public opinion.

Over 70 percent of the Japanese people are against increasing the country's military appropriations. An overwhelming portion of the population feels that the government should not increase arms spending. In 1986, by way of example, only 12 percent of the Japanese were in favor of their country making a large contribution to its defense. The overwhelming portion of the Japanese are against increasing the "self-defense forces." The number of those demanding their reduction and even elimination is increasing.

The decision made by the government to abrogate the 1976 decree in which the limits for the defense budget were fixed at a level of one percent of the GNP recently evoked a broad wave of protest in the country.

Japanese society continues to speak out against the attempts of the ruling circles to change the peace provisions of the constitution. The number of adherents of the basic law of the country has increased in recent years and the number of those who want to reconsider it is on the other hand declining. In 1986, for example, the overwhelming majority of the Japanese--82 percent

(this is the highest level in the whole postwar history of Japan)--had a positive regard for the constitution (I point out by way of comparison that in 1969 some 69 percent expressed this opinion). Also in 1986, 56 percent of the population was against changes to the constitution (which is 12 percent higher than, for example, 1981), while 22 percent inveighed for its review (five percent less than in 1981).

A typical feature of the process of forming public opinion in Japan on issues of war and peace in recent times is the influence of international problems and, in particular, the fight taking shape in the world arena on questions of averting the nuclear threat. The society of the state that was the first in the world to suffer nuclear attack is against the transformation of the Japanese islands into an arena for the nuclear conflict and is demanding a universal end to nuclear testing and the non-proliferation and elimination of nuclear weapons.

An overwhelming portion of the population feels that the principal task of its country in the international arena is the struggle for peace. This opinion was expressed in 1980, for example, by about 70 percent of the representatives of society.

The fight for strict observance of the "three non-nuclear" principles, according to which the country cannot have nuclear weapons, produce them or import them, is also growing stronger in Japan. About 80 percent of the Japanese are in favor of this today, while just 10 percent are against it. This trend is explained by the fact that the majority of the population--over 70 percent--feels that the government is not observing the principle that does not permit the importing of nuclear weapons into the country. Distrust of the government is the reason for the currently increased protests on the part of society against the calls of American warships with nuclear weapons on board at Japanese ports. Such protests are expressed by about 70 percent of the Japanese.

The active antiwar positions of society are having a material effect on government policies and are one of the restraining factors in its militarist preparations. As former Japanese Prime Minister T. Miki noted at one time, "Pacifism... is so deeply reinforced in the consciousness of the Japanese people that the impression is being created that they do not want to deal with the realities of the present day. This is the burden that the Japanese government has to bear, as opposed to the governments of other countries, in developing and carrying out its foreign policy."

The fact that since the end of the Second World War the peace provisions of the constitution have remained in force and are operative is also testimony to the fact that the government must deal with the pacifist sentiments of the population. At the same time, a number of key areas exist in the policies of Tokyo that the government feels are more important than public opinion. One of these is the orientation of the country toward alliance with the United States, an orientation dictated by the decision for Japan to participate in the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" of Washington. This transpired in spite of the will of the majority of the people. Public-opinion polls in 1985, for example, showed that 32 percent of those polled were against SDI,

declaring that it "leads to growth in nuclear potential," while just 13 percent supported this program, feeling that it is "linked to the elimination of nuclear weapons." Even among the allies of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), 28 percent were against SDI and just 17 percent expressed agreement with it.

Making these or those decisions in accordance with its own interests, the ruling circles of the country are at the same time striving to influence public opinion in every possible way. First of all, they are seeking ways of pressuring the opposition parties that are against the dangerous foreign-policy course, with the aim of neutralizing their influence on society. The government and the LDP, for example, actively involve opposition leaders, especially from the Komeito Party leadership, in the decision-making process.

A propaganda campaign called upon to instill the idea of the "exceptional nature" of the Japanese nation is recently acquiring greater and greater scope. The ruling circles of the country especially emphasize the "treatment" of young Japanese who do not know the horrors of war and the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They present this as the "cultivation of patriotism" among the upcoming generation. The goal, in point of fact, is something else--the resurrection of a spirit of nationalism and militarism among the youth. The school reform now being implemented in the country, within the framework of which the revision of textbooks began in 1982, testifies to this in particular. Photographs and drawings depicting the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and pages with elaborations of the peace provisions of the Japanese constitution and its articles on the rights of citizens have begun to disappear, and pages describing the aggression of Japan against other peoples have been removed.

By way of example, with the knowledge and assistance of the Ministry of Education, efforts have been undertaken to alter several places in the textbooks for senior class members that describe the aggression of Japan against China in the 1930s and against the countries of Southeast Asia in the 1940s. After certain changes made to the text, the aggression of Japan against China in particular came to be treated as a "forced step," and moreover the very terms "aggression" and "incursion" were replaced by "entry" and "advance." The events of 1937 in Nanking, where the Japanese occupation forces committed mass slaughter of the civilian population, have also begun to be presented in a distorted light.

A campaign to fan the sensations around the so-called "Soviet military threat" has taken on an especially great scale in recent years. Its goal is to justify the policy of militarization of the country. The Japanese mass media whip up various reports of the supposed increased activity of Soviet armed forces in the Far East. The pages of newspapers and magazines have an increasing number of features on the "Soviet military threat." Literary articles of a clearly antisoviet nature such as "The Order to Start a Nuclear War" and "The Soviet Army Lands in Japan. The Third World War--Asian Version" have begun to circulate.

The National Defense Agency (NDA) is making more and more use of the mass media for the purpose of forming antisoviet sentiments among the Japanese

population. Coming into contact with journalists, writers and public figures, its staffers are disseminating materials among them that say, for example, that an increase in the military might of the "self-defense forces," the reinforcement of the Japanese-American "security treaty," the development of special measures in the event of "Soviet armed incursions into the Japanese islands" etc. are essential. The journalists are told in most detailed fashion about all movements of Soviet naval vessels and aircraft without exception whose path lies near the Japanese coast. "As soon as a Soviet military aircraft or ship approaches Japan," wrote N. Imamura in his article "The Manipulation of Information on Defense Problems," "the staffers of the NDA information department immediately report to the members of the press club that the 'Russians are already here.'" At the same time, the movements of the aircraft and ships of other countries in the same areas remain without attention. The author therefore notes that the impression is being created that only Soviet naval and air forces are actively operating near the Japanese islands, that "Japan is surrounded" and its security is threatened by a "powerful and cunning enemy."

The Japanese are being convinced of the danger that supposedly threatens them "from the north" with the instilling into social consciousness of such traditional stereotypes, propagated by the mass media, as "The USSR is the historical enemy of Japan," "The USSR is a violent state," that Russians are "by nature perfidious" and "they cannot be trusted."

A negative attitude toward the Soviet Union is also being formed with the aid of tendentious polls of public opinion. Questions formulated in a prejudicial manner are often posed to the Japanese in them. By way of example, they are asked: "Who, in your opinion, threatens the security of Japan?", "What is your attitude toward the threat from the north?" and "Do you trust the Soviet Union?" Tests are regularly conducted on the "favorite" and "least favorite" country, wherein the Soviet Union most often figures as the latter.

Such a purposeful treatment of public opinion has definite results. The number of Japanese that feel distrust toward the Soviet Union and are convinced of its aggressive intentions is thus increasing.

Overall, the common sense of the Japanese is gaining the upper hand over militarist and chauvinistic propaganda. The majority of the Japanese are in favor of developing good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union.

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BOOK ON IDEOLOGY OF PAN-ISLAMISM REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 87 pp 63-64

[Review by Z. Katin of book "Panislamizm segodnya. Ideologiya i praktika Ligi islamskogo mira" [Pan-Islamism Today. The Ideology and Practices of the World Islamic League] by R.M. Sharipova, Moscow, Oriental Literature Section of Nauka Publishing House, 1986, 140 pp]

[Text] The World Islamic League (WIL) is the largest Islamic ideological center. According to the WIL charter, its purpose is to unite Muslims and to propagate Islam around the world. The activity of the WIL is directed toward uniting the Muslim states, standardizing the legal norms existing in them and implementing unified principles for the organization of economics, educational systems and the like in the spirit of the Koran. In order to realize this program, the League faces the task of ideologically arming Muslims, developing a strategy for the "Islamic solidarity movement" oriented toward a search for "Islamic" solutions to contemporary problems and creating a fundamental model for the development of the Muslim countries. The activity of the WIL has an objectively anti-imperialist thrust insofar as neocolonialist policies harm the interests of the countries in the zone of traditional propagation of Islam. The League devotes particular attention, however, to fighting the effect of progressive ideas and communist ideology.

This whole broad range of issues is considered in this book. It not only sets forth in detail the history of the creation of the League and its organizational structure and goals, but also does a critical analysis of the religious outlook and ideological, political and socio-economic principles, as well as the chief direction of the foreign-policy activity, of the WIL. Based primarily on a study of primary sources--official documents of the League--Sharipova considers the doctrine of "Islamic solidarity" in concert with the study of the "state of Islam" and the economic concepts being developed by the WIL, including the theory of "Islamic economics" and the substantiation of a "new Islamic international economic order," the idea of a Muslim defense community, plans for decolonization and the Islamization of the mass media. The author also touches on the fundamentally important issue of the attitude of the League toward the theory and practice of socialist construction.

Notwithstanding the fact that the mission of the League, as declared by its leaders, is of an exclusively "social and cultural-enlightenment" nature, it objectively serves, as is convincingly shown in the book, the political interests of reactionary and conservative forces. In analyzing the activity of the WIL, the researcher comes to the conclusion that the idealization of the "Islamic way of life" objectively facilitates the affirmation of capitalist social relations and channels the growing social activeness of the masses of believers into anticommunism.

The author was not able to do everything to an equal extent in the book. The problem of the attitude of the WIL toward socialist theories that are disseminated in Muslim countries was deserving of more detailed study in particular. Overall, however, the research is an important contribution to the study of topical problems in the Muslim world.

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NEW ECONOMIC QUARTERLY, DIRECT TIES, ANNOUNCED

[Editorial report] Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 34, August 1987, announces on page 7 the publication of PRYAMYYE SVYAZI (Direct Ties), "a compilation of business information for enterprises and organizations of socialist countries." The first issue of the collection, published by the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, contains decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on foreign economic management and management of economic and scientific and technical cooperation with socialist countries and commentaries on these decrees. "An important place in the collection is occupied by information on new foreign trade organizations which began operation in January of this year," the announcement says. The collection, edited and compiled by V. Zhukov, who also was the author of this article, carries a column "We Are Seeking Partners" and a special section on international exhibits to be held in the Soviet Union during the second half of 1987. The journal is to be published "at least four times a year."

The second issue, which has been prepared for publication, carries a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers on setting up joint ventures, international associations and organizations with CEMA countries in the USSR and the State Foreign Economic Commission's procedure on direct production and scientific and technical ties with enterprises and organizations of other CEMA countries and commentaries on them. This issue is to carry a column "We Represent Soviet Exporters-Importers" and again the column "We Are Seeking Partners."

The article concludes by noting that in the future the publication intends to expand its coverage and include a column "They Ask -- We Answer." "The question of publishing proposals by enterprises and organizations of other CEMA countries on establishing direct ties with Soviet partners is being studied."

PROFESSOR ON LAWS GOVERNING JOINT VENTURES

Moscow TASS in English 1124 GMT 20 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS -- The restructuring of the USSR's foreign economic activity, the granting of the right to build in Soviet territory joint ventures with foreign firms has necessitated the introduction of new legal norms, which have become a separate area of Soviet civil law.

As a TASS correspondent was told by Professor Mikhail Braginskiy, a prominent expert in this field, these norms included the adoption this year of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on these issues.

The legal norms reflect the comprehensive character of the reorganization of this country's foreign economic activity, the state's determination to carry it out consistently.

Take such a question as the areas for the creation of joint ventures. They are not limited: Joint ventures can be set up in any branch of the economy, whereas in many other countries the scope of activity for such ventures is narrowed.

Neither are there any limitations as regards the choice of partners, Mikhail Braginskiy continued. Any foreign firm which is a legal entity under the national legislation can be a partner in a joint venture.

Since the time of registration of the joint venture by the USSR Finance Ministry it is granted the right of a legal entity and is allowed to make contracts in the USSR and outside it.

The laws guarantee certain tax benefits for them. During the first two years of activity they are exempt from taxes; upon expiration of that term the USSR Finance Ministry can, with due regard for the significance of the plant for the Soviet economy, cut the sum of the tax or exempt the venture from it.

Also guaranteed is the protection of investments by the partners in joint ventures. Confiscation or requisition of property of the venture is excluded. Penalty on its property is possible only in keeping with a decision of the court and not the administrative bodies, as is the practice vis-a-vis many Soviet economic organizations.



A foreign participant in a joint venture is allowed to import machinery and equipment as its contribution to the venture without having to pay customs dues. If he wishes to withdraw from the joint venture, he may withdraw the corresponding part of the property both in the form of material means and foreign currency.

Every foreign firm has a stake in getting profit and exporting it. They are allowed to export that part of profit due to it in keeping with the decision of the leading bodies of the joint ventures.

Soviet laws specially providing for all the benefits and advantages established for the protection of state property in the USSR also apply to joint ventures, the scholar stressed in conclusion.

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U.S. JOURNALISTS' MOSCOW PHONE-IN REPORTED

PM271211 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 87 pp 1-3

[A. Baranov, N. Tsvetkov report on 4 July Moscow "Direct Line" Phone-In Between KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers and U.S. journalists Geoffrey Trimble, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT Moscow bureau chief, and William Keller, NEW YORK TIMES Moscow correspondent: "In the Mirror of Openness"--first four grafs are unattributed introduction]

[Excerpts] Moscow-accredited U.S. journalists Geoffrey Trimble, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT bureau chief, and William Keller, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, have been holding a dialogue with readers.

Our U.S. colleagues reacted to KOMSOMOLKA'S proposal to come to the editorial office to hold a dialogue with readers not without some hesitation. Would the dialogue prove to be frank? Would the speakers find a common language? We must admit that these questions worried us too. Nevertheless the decision was taken to have a try. After all, in conditions of openness, a frank exchange of opinions is without doubt useful for everybody--both ourselves and our ideological opponents.

G. Trimble has been working in Moscow for 10 months and W. Keller arrived 6 months ago. It is not a long time, but it seemed to us long enough for a journalist to be able to form a personal impression of the country he is staying in and to give an appraisal of the processes occurring in it. As for the technical aspect of the dialogue, its participants did not have to overcome a "language barrier"--G. Trimble speaks Russian fluently and W. Keller is not far behind his colleague. But an interpreter--Igor Romashkevich--came to help the speakers in case of need.

The date of the "Direct Line" phone-in was 4 July, which coincided with the U.S. Independence Day national holiday, and those who phone in congratulated our speakers on it.

[Questioner] Hello, is that Keller I am speaking to?

[Keller] Yes, Will Keller speaking.

[Questioner] This is Vladimir Grishin from Moscow. This is my question for you. How do you rate the restructuring that is taking place in our country?

[Keller] Of course this topic interests us very much. At the present time restructuring is made up of a whole range of different components, one of which is openness. I think that the degree of frankness in the Soviet press has increased radically. I have only been working in your country for 6 months, but I have already had time to sense this. The other day, for example, I was reading an article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA about an act of brutality by the militia on one of Moscow's boulevards. I think that a year ago the publication of such a report in the newspaper would have been an extraordinary event. Now, such reports are not a rarity. However, in my opinion, there are definite limits to your openness. Questions which are considered to be very pointed, such as for example the problem of the Crimean Tatars, the KGB's role, and the life of the inmates of labor camps convicted of violating the laws concerning religion, are still not being raised. But any way I must say that openness is having a very great effect on public life in your country.

As for the question of restructuring in the economy, a majority in the West agree that the changes outlined are essentially radical. But the implementation of economic reforms--and your leadership is of course aware of this--takes several years and requires fundamental changes in the mentality and everyday activity of Soviet people themselves.

And the third important component of restructuring, in my view, is democratization. I believe that this process is just picking up momentum. At a press conference, Academician Aganbegyan admitted that there is still no unity or unanimity on this question either...

[Questioner] Well, that's an interesting viewpoint. I have the impression that you are sincerely interested in seeing the situation in our country improving...

[Keller] But you see... There are various viewpoints on this question in the West. Some commentators believe that an improvement in the quality of life in the Soviet Union will result in its becoming stronger and posing a greater danger to the rest of the world. Although most people look at your country not in the light of geopolitics, but with friendliness.

[Questioner] I think that the fears that the strengthening of the Soviet economy could pose a threat to peace are totally absurd. These fears arise from a lack of knowledge about the reality of our country and from years of accumulated distrust of our country. You know, I think you journalists who throw light on life in the Soviet Union need to familiarize yourselves more deeply with our country's life in order to better understand what is happening in it. Perhaps it would be worth U.S. journalists' undergoing a training period on Soviet newspapers, and Soviet journalists on U.S. newspapers. It seems to me that such an exchange might promote better mutual understanding.

[Keller] That's what I think too. Recently two U.S. journalists underwent a training period on the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI for several weeks. I spoke to them briefly before their departure. In their opinion, the training

period was very interesting. But I'm not sure that most Americans would want to adopt your experience in the sense that a newspaper must reflect the party viewpoint.

[Questioner] Well, here's my last question for you. Do you think that there is anything in the processes of openness and restructuring that Americans could borrow for themselves?

[Keller] I think that every country must seek out its own solutions.

[Questioner] of course, but it seems to me that positive experience could be borrowed.

[Keller] First we must watch to see what comes of your experience.

[Questioner] I can see that distrustfulness is still a typical trait of Americans.

[Keller] It is difficult to answer your question. Americans are certainly very proud of their own system and their own way of life... Perhaps sometimes even too proud...

[Questioner] This is a student--Kadyrbayeva--from Frunze speaking. Tell me please, Mr Trimble, can a fundamental difference in approach be observed between your elucidation of events in the Soviet Union and Soviet journalists' elucidation of events in the United States?

[Trimble] That is a good question. I often have discussions on this topic with Soviet colleagues. As far as I understand it, the task of the Soviet journalist--as he is taught at the institute or at university--is to defend the Revolution and present Marxist and Leninist ideas to the reader. Whereas my main duty is to reflect reality objectively. I quite often find that I am an opponent of my own government on this or that question. I am in no way dependent on the U.S. Government. But Soviet journalists, virtually without exception, defend the Soviet Government's policy and express its opinions. However, now, under conditions of openness, the attitude to what is happening within the country has somewhat changed. That is, Soviet journalists are now criticizing the actions of local bodies. But in the sphere of international politics, I think that Soviet journalists almost without reservation support the official position, whereas our press still tries to reflect both the American and the Soviet viewpoint. Perhaps we do not always do this successfully. But our approach is different from your.

[Questioner] Mr Keller, my name is Valentin Raginskiy and I live in Leningrad. I would like you to amplify: Is it true that the United States does not permit the entry of people who belong to a communist party?

[Keller] That is partially true. there is a U.S. law restricting the entry into the country of people whose activity may in some sense be seen as a threat, but this of course is a much disputed law. And many people in the



United States, including newspaper observers, advocate that members of foreign communist parties be permitted to enter the United States without hindrance. After all, in the United States itself every citizen is free to join the communist party if he wants to. But this law does still exist. [Keller ends]

There is a call from Kiev. Will Keller picks up the receiver and listens attentively.

[Questioner] Two months ago our family was moved out of the apartment in which we had lived for 8 years. Why? Because the man we had been looking after had no relatives. We were not his relatives either. He was a single man and a second-category invalid. He invited us in in 1978 so that our young family could look after him. We agreed and looked after him until 1984, when he died. Three years later we have been evicted. And we have been left in a difficult situation that I have even written to the USSR Supreme Court. I have around 40 official replies. They indicate that the decision to evict us was just. But I question this.

[Keller] But what is your question?

[Questioner] Can I send you all the documents?

[Keller] What for?

[Questioner] So that you can verify this. The point is that our press often writers that human rights are being violated in Western countries. And they say that we have no homeless people here in the Soviet Union. But that is precisely what I am.

[Keller] And where do you live now?

[Questioner] I am currently renting a room in Kiev.

[Keller] That means you are not completely homeless?

[Questioner] Can you come and visit us? If it is difficult for you, I can pay your fare.

[Keller] From time to time USSR citizens who want to draw the West's attention to their problems appeal to me. As a rule, I try to listen to as many people as possible, because this helps me understand life in your country. Many of those who phone us on specific questions think that Western correspondents will play the role of a kind of mediator between them and the authorities. But that is not part of our work here.

We try to understand what is happening and report on it. Not to conduct campaigns in defense of individual Soviet citizens or to secure changes in your country. That is the affair of Soviet citizens. But you can write to me. And so I am sure that I receive your letter, tell me your name.

[Questioner] Yefadze Tarnel.

[Trimble] Hello, Geoff Trimble speaking

[Questioner] This is Leonid Ivanovich Mikhalin from Tyumen. I work as an agronomist on a kolkhoz. My question is this: Where do you get your information for your reports? How do you know how restructuring is going in remote oblasts and rayons of our country?

[Trimble] I can answer that like this: I read the Soviet press, I attend briefings at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I have interviews with Soviet officials, I talk to foreign diplomats. I would say that these are my main sources of information. In addition, I often just talk to people in the street about what they think, what they feel about restructuring, and other topics.

[Questioner] So, you work just in Moscow?

[Trimble] No, I travel around. My editor requires me to do so too. But, unfortunately, traveling round the country is to a certain extent restricted for me. Because there are areas closed to foreigners and trips must be organized either through intourist or through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That is, I cannot travel wherever I want, as in the States. (In the USSR, as in the United States, there are areas to which access is closed to foreign citizens--KOMMUNISTSKAYA PRAVDA note)

[Trimble] Geoff Trimble speaking.

[Questioner] Hello, this is Svetlana Goryacheva from Dolgoprudnyy in Moscow Oblast. I would like to ask you the following question: When the terrible calamity of the "Challenger" catastrophe befell the United States 28 January 1986, Soviet people sympathized with you. Poems and songs were dedicated to the dead cosmonauts. And most importantly: There was not even a shadow of gloating in our press, only sympathy. So why, when the calamity of Chernobyl occurred, did much of the U.S. mass media begin to spread slander about us?

[Trimble] Unfortunately, I was not in Moscow at the time--There was tremendous interest in the world in what happened in Chernobyl, because there had never before been an accident with such consequences in the history of nuclear power. However, as a journalist I must remark that we had very little information, especially in the early days following the catastrophe. Of course, now--a year later--I can see that a great deal of what was written at the time about Chernobyl was incorrect. But this was all because information was very difficult to obtain and it was impossible to visit the AES. As you yourself remember, many very varied rumors about the accident were going round at the time, and I think these rumors gave rise to articles with and incorrect interpretation of what happened.

[Questioner] How was it possible to provide information for the press, if the situation in the early days after the accident was still not completely clear?

And in my opinion, a week later when events were being investigated, a great deal of very varied information was already coming out of Chernobyl. So it seems to me that it was not a matter of lack of facts, but of what impression of the USSR the press wanted to create among people in the West using such articles...

[Trimble] Perhaps you are right.

[Questioner] I would like to wish you success in your work here in Moscow. And also, when you return to the United States, tell all Americans without fail--everybody you meet--that all Soviet people, from the smallest to the greatest, from the most humble to the general secretary, want peace. Tell them that the Soviet threat is a myth.

[Questioner] Hello, Mr Keller. This is Petr Komov speaking. I am a language student. The following question interests me. Human rights are discussed by U.S. spokesman at very many international forums, but you have the Brazinkas father and son living happily in America. They are the murderers of our stewardess Nadya Kurchenko. Just imagine the opposite situation: If American criminals murdered an American air stewardess and fled abroad, what would be your government's reaction?

[Keller] I am not a representative of the U.S. Government. You are putting your question to the wrong person.

[Questioner] But as a representative of the press which shapes public opinion, what do you think, William: Was the U.S. authorities' reaction correct?

[Keller] You do not understand the role of the press in the United States at all. I do not consider it my task to shape public opinion. My role is to provide the public with information.

[Questioner] OK. But just as an American, what do you think about this?

[Keller] I have not studied the question and I have no clear viewpoint on it.... I am not sure that I should expound my own viewpoint in the Soviet or any other press anyway.

[Questioner] Well, never mind, thanks anyway.

[Questioner] Hello, Mr Trimble. This is Ruslan Velkin, a school student from Mytishchi. Do you not think that the television serial "Amerika" is a direct product of U.S. policy aimed at kindling hatred of the Soviet people?

[Trimble] No, it is not a piece of U.S. policy. It is simply a movie. In our country the state is not in charge of television, the magazine, or the newspapers. Various companies, producers, or television corporations express their own opinions themselves.

[Questioner] How do you explain that fact that these companies and producers are inflamed with such hatred toward us?

[Trimble] Well, I don't know. Probably they thought that this movie would please the public and would, as they say, be in demand and consequently make a profit. But if they are convinced that there is interest in "positive" movies about the Soviet Union, then they will provide such pictures. That is, it is more a question of commerce, there are no politics here....

[Questioner] Mr Trimble, another question then--about dissidents. After all, there are dissidents in the United States too, so why does the United States too, so why does the U.S. press avoid comparisons? Perhaps because dissidents here have a different, so to speak, moral makeup from dissidents there?

[Trimble] I think comparisons in this regard are simply impossible. Dissidents in the USSR are very different from those you call dissidents in the States. It is simply very difficult to compare....

[Questioner] Are you acquainted with any Soviet dissidents?

[Trimble] Yes, for example, I know Andrey Sakharov quite well. I did an interview with him and his wife. And I know others who are regarded as dissidents.

[Questioner] Do you feel sympathy for them?

[Trimble] That is not my duty--to sympathize or not. The West believes... that is, my readers believe that the activity of the dissidents is an important aspect of Soviet society's life. And as long as such interests exists, I will write about it. But that is not the most important part of my work. I would say that now I write most about restructuring in the Soviet Union and about openness.

[Questioner] Lyudmila Aleksandrovna Tsybul'skaya from Kiev. Mr Trimble, I have been trying to settle the question of giving up Soviet citizenship for a number off political motives for 8 years now.

[Trimble] That is, you want to leave?

[Questioner] Yes, that's right. for 8 years I have been wandering around with two children without means to exist. I applied to the U.S. Embassy for help but received no reply.

[Trimble] Since you are a citizen of the Soviet Union, the U.S. Embassy cannot help you. And I probably cannot help you. I quite frequently come across people like you. What can I say? I am just a correspondent, and it is interesting for me. I sympathize with you if you really have such problems.

[Questioner] Hello. this is Nikolay Ilich Yakimchuk from Novovolynsk in the Ukraine. I am a teacher of Ukrainian in a secondary school. I am interested, Mr Trimble, in how the U.S. press throws light on questions of education in the USSR?



[Trimble] I can tell you that about 2 months ago, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT published a long article on education throughout the world. And comparison showed that the United States lagged behind many countries in this sphere, and moreover that it lagged to the greatest degree behind the USSR and Japan. It must be admitted that, compared with the average grade school in America, the standard of education in Soviet schools is higher. And that is despite the fact that you yourselves have several problems which are currently being studied. Our magazine plans to return again to the reform of the Soviet education system in the fall, on the eve of our holiday, when we will probably devote a whole issue to your country.

[Questioner] Hello. My name is Aleksandr Vindfeld.

[Trimble] Hello Aleksandr. Geoff Trimble speaking. Are you from Moscow?

[Questioner] No, I'm from Leningrad. I am a doctor by training, and I have a purely medical question. We know from reports in our press that you have a huge epidemic of AIDS in your country. I would like to know if the U.S. Government is thinking of erecting any sort of cordon to protect the inhabitants of other countries from American AIDS carriers. I think that people with AIDS should not be allowed to leave the state borders.

[Trimble] In U.S. society, which considers itself very open, such a limitation on a person's freedom is a very vexed question. It is not even within the competence of doctors. Such questions are decided by society as a whole, that is, primarily by politicians and congress. The doctors say that AIDS is a terrible threat and that something should be done urgently. But the politicians are still arguing about what they should do.

[Questioner] And how do you rate our state's efforts in this regard?

[Trimble] I visited one of Moscow's hospitals for infectious diseases and spoke to doctors there. They look on it very seriously. They say that a compulsory test for AIDS will be introduced for foreigners coming to the USSR for long periods. For people like me, for example.

[Questioner] Do you think that would be right?

[Trimble] To be honest, I would not want such a test. But laws are laws. Such rules already exist in various countries. Any state has the right to protect itself from danger.

[Questioner] Thank you. I wish you all the best.

[Questioner] This is Fedor Klyuyev, a student from Moscow speaking. Tell me please, Mr Keller, what is the position of Zionists in the United States? For example, how powerful is Zionist capital in America?

[Keller] In the United States there is simply capital; we do not distinguish between one sort of capital and another.

[Questioner] I have read that contributions from the Zionist community to the Republican and Democratic Parties' election campaigns amount to many millions of dollars.

[Keller] That is an interesting piece of information. Where did you obtain it?

[Questioner] In the Soviet press.

[Keller] And you can't be more exact?

[Questioner] Now, let me see. Well, there is the book by Aleksandrov, published in 1980 in Moscow by the RSFSR "Znaniye" Society. It is called "Zionism in the Motherland of Imperialist Reaction."

[Keller] At the moment you are talking to a U.S. journalist who has read detailed reports about U.S. election campaigns. If I tell you that the allegations that Zionists provide backing for the Republicans' and Democrats' election campaigns are rubbish, will you believe that?

[Questioner] I would like to know how the Americans themselves assess the position of Zionist in their country.

[Editorial note: At this point KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA prints the following TASS item enclosed in box]

From the TASS Teleprinter

More than 100 pro-Israeli political action committees contributed around \$4 million to the funds of senators and members of the House of Representatives who are sympathetic toward Israel on the eve of the 1986 elections. This is the conclusion reached by U.S. journalist Edward (Reder), who analyzed the financial statements of U.S. Congressmen. However, none of the major U.S. newspapers has so far agreed to publish these data. [Boxed TASS item ends]

[Questioner] Hello Mr Trimble, my name is Oleg. I am 23 and an engineer.

[Trimble] Excuse me, where are you calling from?

[Questioner] From Moscow. The following question interests me. There have been articles in our newspapers devoted to the work of the U.S. exhibition "Information Technology in the United States." They sharply criticize the work of the U.S. guides and the content of the exhibition in general.

[Trimble] I think that, in organizing this exhibition, the U.S. Government did not intend to show the very latest technology. This exhibition was designed for the average person, not for the specialist. But as for the conduct of the guides, I don't know, I'm not au courant.

[Questioner] Hello, Mr Keller. I am from Leningrad, passing through Moscow. My name is Andrey Ivanov. I would like first and foremost to congratulate you on your national holiday.

[Keller] Thank you.

[Questioner] Do you write anything about Soviet youth? What seems to you to be most interesting in their life today?

[Keller] I will try to answer very briefly. At the present time I am finishing quite a long article on Soviet youth. I think that the success or failure of restructuring depends primarily on whether or not the younger generation, particularly young workers, actively support the changes that have begun. So far my impression is that young people are showing great interest in them. However, there is also a considerable section of young people who are simply observing from the sidelines and waiting to see what happens next. It is very interesting to see how the official institutions and public organizations such as the Komsomol, for example, are trying to restructure themselves. So far, I do not think that they have achieved success. That is my opinion...

[Questioner] Tell me, apart from the material you are currently preparing, has anything been published in your paper about the life of Soviet people?

[Keller] That is not up to me. I suppose, even this article of mine will be read by editors.... Of course, our paper does not publish only my dispatches, but articles by other journalists too. We have two other correspondents here. For example, they have written about how the Soviet mass media have begun to devote more attention to rock music and new movies about people--for example, the movie "Is It Easy To Be Young?"...

[Questioner] I follow KOMSOMOLKA and other newspapers of ours. They feature articles--though perhaps not many--about the life of U.S. youth, including the topic you touched on: modern music and on young people's interests. After all, our young people and your young people have many interests in common. you will probably agree that young people in our countries draw their ideas of each other mainly from newspapers and television programs. So I would like to ask what advice you might give to U.S. journalists here and our journalists working in the United States in the matter of throwing light on the problems of youth?

[Keller] My advice to U.S. correspondents who write about the problems of youth here is this: Try not to write just about the most extremist, so to speak, representatives of youth, whether they are punks, hippies, or something else. try if possible to understand the wider section of young people. That is very difficult but, I think, necessary. As for Soviet journalists writing about American youth, I would advise... the same, probably. Try to understand the huge diversity of interests of young people and not write just about the ones who take part in peace marches or who gets carried away with drugs.

[Questioner] Thank you, I wish you success in your work.

[Questioner] This is Olga Trunova from Moscow. I am 17. Tell me please, Mr Trimble, how do my contemporaries live in America? What do they do in the evening, for example?

[Trimble] Well, different things. They visit each other's homes, go to the movies. At 17 they cannot yet go to bars--they are only for 18-year olds and over. They like dancing--there are many rock clubs in America. And they travel around: for instance, they often spend weekends camping. I would that people's leisure in America differs from yours, perhaps, simply by the fact that in the States there are more clubs that stay open all night. And almost everybody has a car. It is easier for them to visit each other or to travel out of town, for example.

[Questioner] Thank you. Please send them greetings from Soviet people.

[Trimble] With pleasure.

[Questioner] "Direct Line"? This is Andrey Patroshov from Moscow.

[Trimble] Geoff Trimble speaking.

[Questioner] Tell me, do you know our country well?

[Trimble] I studied here for 18 months in the late seventies and I know the USSR as well as a foreigner can know this huge country.

[Questioner] Well then, this is my question to you: Do you yourself believe that the Soviet Union wants to start a war against the United States?

[Trimble] I would not like to evade your question. Though, as an impartial correspondent I very rarely express my own viewpoint about anything. Of course, no people--Soviet or American--want war. If a world war started, it would be the last. I think that today everybody understands this. And I feel that among Soviet people, among those I meet, there are none who would seek armed confrontation with the West. [Trimble ends]

That is the discussion that took place. Let us say bluntly that we had hoped the guests would be more frank in their opinions and would not start to hide behind standard formulas such as "I am not a representative of the U.S. government,..." Never mind: Let us hope that this is not the last conversation between our readers and Western journalists.

On leaving, Geoffrey Trimble said: "I believe that a reporter is a mirror in which reality should be reflected." We have invited KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers to look into this mirror.

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CSO: 1807/0394



KAMENTSEV VIEWS FRANCE-SOVIET TRADE, POTENTIAL

PM021036 Paris LE FIGARO in French 17 Jun 87 p 18

[Interview with Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Minister, by Eric Lecourt in Paris on 16 June.

[Text] "Trade between France and the USSR is still too limited given our two countries' economic importance. It does not live up to our potential," Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, told LE FIGARO. Speaking to us between a meeting with his French counterparts and one with business circles, he emphasized the need to revitalize a source of business which has dried up in the past 2 years.

"France only accounts for 3 percent of our trade," he stated. And he commented: "This is hardly anything." At the Soviet Embassy in Paris yesterday morning, Valdimir Kamentsev stated that his visit to France would impart new impetus to Franco-Russian trade.

Indeed, over the past 3 years, the increase in gas imports has increased the trade deficit between the two countries. This trend was aggravated last year by a reduction in Soviet imports from France. Between 1985 and 1986 the gap widened from Fr5.1 billion to Fr7.5 billion. This situation, deemed to be "disastrous" in Paris, prompted [French Foreign Trade Minister] Michel Noir to establish quotas for soviet oil imports last November.

Today, the commercial trail of strength between the two countries seems to have come to a sudden end for lack of contestants. The French Government decided to lift restrictions on Soviet oil imports from 1 July. Vladimir Kamentsev, for his part, had no hesitation in saying: "We will have a complete balance in our trade by the end of 1987."

For the time being, the move toward restoring a balance in Franco-Russian trade which is taking place as a result of a reduction in French imports from the Soviet Union does not satisfy him. "Balance should be sought by increasing trade, not reducing it," he stressed.

Russian-style Marriage

This is not the first time that Soviet leaders have expressed this desire, but the atmosphere between Paris and Moscow is clearly improving. During [French

Prime Minister] Jacques Chirac's visit to the Kremlin in mid-May, top French officials seized the opportunity to sign a financial agreement with their Soviet counterparts clarifying the credit terms which will now govern sales of French-made goods. "It was the lack of such an agreement since 1981 which led to the deterioration we have observed in our trade," Vladimir Kamentsev explained.

The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is an ardent supporter of the new legislation on joint companies--with Western and Soviet capital--have come to France to meet French enterprises tempted by this original venture on the banks of the Volga. "We have already received more than 250 proposals from different countries like Japan, Finland, India, and even Italy. The French have made 27 proposals for creating joint enterprises and 5 of them are being implemented. Final agreements will shortly be signed," Vladimir Kamentsev said.

Industrial groups (Pechiney, Rhone-Poulenc, CGE...), agricultural groups (Interagra), banks (Paribas, Credit Lyonnais...) and even small and medium-sized enterprises like Sciaky are at present negotiating with Soviet partners.

What advice does one of the instigators of this reform intend to give Western enterprises which are prepared to join with a Russian partner? "Some people think that industrial cooperation will help trade," he replied. "Others criticize our initiative and say that a planned system is incompatible with joint companies. The simplest thing is to sign the marriage contracts. and everybody can judge on the basis of the facts."

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CSO: 1812/0271

SOVIET-FRENCH SHIPPING COMMISSION MEETING OPENS

LD31641 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 30 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow 30 June TASS--A regular session of the Soviet-French Commission on Sea Shipping opened here today. The body set up in compliance with the 1967 Soviet-French inter-governmental agreement is to review the state of cooperation between Soviet and French shipping agencies and discuss prospects for its further development.

The agenda of the session includes matters related to the carriage of general and bulk cargoes between the two countries, and the operations of joint shipping lines between the ports of the Soviet Union and France.

Sea transport carries the bulk of cargoes exchanged by the two countries in bilateral trade. Last year some 15 million tons of cargoes were carried. Of these 11 million tons were transported by ships flying the Soviet flag.

In the past few years representatives of Soviet French shipping agencies repeatedly discussed possibilities for a more balanced distribution of the cargo traffic between the two countries. The French side suggested that all goods exchanged by the two countries and carried by sea be divided administratively.

While treating with understanding the desire of French ship operators to increase their share in the transportation of cargoes between the two countries, the Soviet side is of the opinion that all measures in that field should be based on commercial criteria. It proceeds from the premise that the administrative distribution of cargoes will inevitably make transportation more expensive--factor that is at variance with the interests of Soviet and French trading partners.

An additional Soviet-French agreement on sea shipping was signed last November.

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CSO: 1812/0271

KAMENTSEV, TURKEY'S OZAL ATTEND PIPELINE CEREMONY

LD2322207 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 23 Jun 87

[Text] Istanbul, 23 June, TASS--A festive ceremony was held in the City of Hamitabat (European part of Turkey) today to mark the inauguration of a Soviet-Turkish gas pipeline and the beginning of the flow of natural gas from the Soviet Union to Turkey.

Turgut Ozal, prime minister of Turkey, Kaya Erdem, deputy prime minister, cabinet ministers and members of Parliament arrived in the city decorated with Soviet and Turkish flags to take part in the ceremony.

The Soviet Union was represented by a government delegation led by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Commission for Foreign Economic Relations.

Turgut Ozal took note of the importance of supplies of Soviet natural gas for the Turkish economy and especially for boosting its fuel and energy-producing sector.

The realization of that project, the Turkish prime minister emphasized, is a vivid result of the implementation of Soviet-Turkish agreements reached in Moscow in July 1986.

The Turkish prime minister came out in favor of the development of fruitful cooperation between his country and the Soviet Union .

In his remarks at the ceremony the head of the Soviet delegation described the pipeline (which is already moving natural gas to Turkey) as one more link between the two countries and their peoples. With the realization of that project Soviet-Turkish trade and economic cooperation are entering a new stage of development, he observed.

Later today Turgut Ozal received V.M. Kamentsev. During the meeting that proceeded in a friendly atmosphere the sides exchanged information on the state of and prospects for cooperation between the two countries and on major problems related to international security and disarmament.

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CSO: 1825/0234



## BRIEFS

FRG AGRICULTURAL PROTOCOL--Bonn, 14 July, TASS--A meeting of the expert group for agriculture and food industry of the USSR and FRG Commissions for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation has been held in Bonn. Within its framework a protocol was signed providing for broadening cooperation in the field of agriculture between the two countries, before the year of 1990 and in the field of production and processing of plant growing and stock rearing products, the making of fodder, mechanisation of agriculture and a number of other fields. The sides voiced hope that the new form of cooperation will contribute to a deepening of bilateral agrarian-economic ties. It was pointed out in the course of the meeting that there are potentialities for a further development of cooperation, which must be put to use. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 14 Jul 87 LD] /12232

EDUCATION ACCORD WITH FRG--Bonn, 5 July, TASS--TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy reports: In Duesseldorf, the capital city of north Rhine-Westphalia state, a joint statement has been signed on readiness to expand cooperation between this FRG state and the Russian Federation in the sphere of school education and pedagogical science. The document was signed for the Soviet side by G.P. Veselov, RSFSR minister of education, and for the West German side by Hans Schwier, education minister in the Government of north Rhine-Westphalia. The signing of the joint statement is an important event in the life of this, the largest state in the FRG in terms of population. Leading programs on West German television broadcast detailed reports on the solemn signing ceremony. This document, the reports noted, envision for the first time in the history of relations between the USSR and the FRG a mutual exchange both of school teachers of German and Russian and of school pupils. Exchange of experience in using computer technology in schools and in methods of vocational training will become possible on the basis of the joint statement which has been signed. Contacts between pedagogical institutes of North Rhine-Westphalian Education Minister H. Schwier, speaking at the solemn ceremony to sign the document, pointed out in particular that the attainment of this accord will make a contribution to the further deepening of Soviet-West German relations. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 5 Jul 87 LD] /12232

UK-USSR BANK PROTOCOL--The USSR Gosbank and the USSR Foreign Trade Bank on the one hand, and Britain's Bank of Scotland, Morgan Grenfell, and Moscow Narodny Bank on the other hand, signed on 29 June a protocol on cooperation in providing consultation assistance to Soviet and British partners setting up joint enterprises on USSR territory. [TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"] [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 6] /12232

JOINT AUSTRIAN BANKING VENTURE--Moscow August 12 TASS--The State Bank of the USSR, the Bank for Foreign Trade of the USSR and the Austrian "Donau-Bank AG" and "ZentralsParkasse und Kommerzialbank" will render assistance to organizations of the two countries interested in joint ventures. This is envisaged by the agreement on cooperation signed here today, the first such documents between Soviet and Austrian banks. Over 80 Austrian firms have already put forward joint venture proposals, a TASS correspondent has been told by Romuald Riedl, the "ZentralsParkasse und Kommerzialbank" managing director. Austrian firms, he said, intend to create joint enterprises in machinebuilding, machine tool building, pulp and paper industry, hotel construction and exploitation, agri-industrial complex. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 12 Aug 87 LD]

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U.S. OPPOSITION TO PRC-TAIWAN REUNIFICATION ALLEGED  
Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 31, 10 Aug 67, 27-28  
[Article by Evgeny Bazhanov]

[Text]

**Martial law has been lifted in Taiwan and a new law adopted, opening the way, so Taipei claims, for the creation of "a more democratic, freer, more prosperous and more progressive society." What lies behind these events?**

The island of Gulanyu almost clings to the shore of Fujian Province in South-West China. A steep hill in the centre of the island is crowned by the "sunlight rock." It was from this place that Zheng Chenggong, the Chinese national hero, directed the preparation of troops which, in 1661-62, drove the Dutch colonialists out of another Chinese island, Taiwan, lying opposite Fujian Province, some 200 kilometres from the coast. An observation site erected on the "sunlight rock" is usually filled with people. Tourists from all parts of China peer into the telescope, trying to see the outlines of Taiwan in the turquoise distance of the ocean. On a fine day they can discern the outlines of the warships protecting the island. Their guns are trained on the Chinese coast.

After the victory of the people's revolution in China in 1949, representatives of the overthrown Guomindang regime fled to Taiwan. Backed by Washington, they ensconced themselves on the island, and since then the regime has been posing as the "Republic of China," the sole legitimate government of the country.

Following the establishment of diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking in 1979, official U.S.-Taiwan relations were severed and the Guomindang's position badly shaken. The regime has lost its former status in all authoritative international organizations.

But the Taiwan issue is still on the agenda. The partition of China continues. This situation conflicts with the will of the people. Peking has repeatedly stressed. The Chinese want to see their nation united. The reunification of Taiwan with the mainland is a cardinal objective of China's foreign policy as recorded in its Constitution.

Peking has been actively seeking to start negotiations with Taiwan on this issue, proposing as the basis for reunion the principle of "one country with two social-economic systems." This principle was recently used in the peaceful settlement of the Hong Kong and Macao issues (territories respectively under British and Portuguese control).

It is envisaged that the capitalist economic system and the present political system would continue in Taiwan for at least 50 years after reunification. The island would have its own armed forces and would exercise its foreign economic ties independently. Neither troops nor administrative personnel would be sent to Taiwan from the continental part of China. The autonomy of the island would be limited only in one area - in world affairs it would be represented by the People's Republic of China.

While approving the concept of one nation, the Guomindang authorities nevertheless reject these proposals. The burden of the past - ideological hostility, mistrust and fear - weighs heavy on

them. True, trade with China by private firms through third parties and the contacts of islanders with their relatives on the mainland are tolerated by the Taiwan authorities. But this is all Taipei permits.

The Taiwan problem is being aggravated by U.S. interference. In violation of its agreements with China, Washington supplies large quantities of weapons to Taipei (worth more than 700 million dollars a year) and is helping Taiwan establish its own arms industry. The protection of the freedom of Taiwan, Washington claims, remains one of the most important elements of American policy, and the United States must do everything to maintain the island's security.

Refusing to promote the Peking-Taipei dialogue, Washington demands that China provide "guarantees" of its peaceful intentions on the Taiwan question. Such a line is naturally viewed in Peking as interference in China's internal affairs, raising obstacles in the way of relations between the two countries. Peking has repeatedly warned Washington that if, through the latter's fault, peaceful negotiations do not start in the Strait of Taiwan, China will have to resort to force.

It is against this political background that the Guomindang authorities have proclaimed a programme of liberalization in Taiwan. Under the new legislation the dictatorial powers of the military command and security service of the regime will be restricted, the practice of bringing civilians to trial by court-martial ended, and a certain "freedom of manoeuvre" granted to the press.

There will be a legal possibility of forming opposition political parties. A new organization - the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) - was set up last September, true without official permission. The intention has been announced to speed up the process of rejuvenation and democratization in the ruling Guomindang party.

The democratization of the Taipei regime can only be welcomed. But the processes under way on the island have many reefs.

First, martial law has been replaced by a law on state security, which the opposition DPP immediately characterized, not without reason, as "old wine in a new bottle." Article 2 of the law says that meetings and citizens' organizations

"ought not to violate the Constitution or support communism."

It follows from Article 9 of the same law that persons convicted by a military tribunal will not be permitted to appeal to civil courts after martial law has been repealed. The registration of political parties by the government, required under the law on state security, will enable the Guomindang, spokesman for the DPP point out, to rule, as before, by big-stick methods.

Second, the Guomindang leaders do not seem to have given up their obstructionist approach to negotiations with China. As before, threats are being made against those who favour a dialogue with Peking. This means that the changous on the island are not aimed at resolving the main problem - the reunification of the country.

Third, calls for the independence of Taiwan can be heard in the ranks of the opposition. It is claimed that slogans of this kind are being advanced merely for tactical purposes, as "an effective means of drawing a clear-cut line" between the DPP programme and the policy of the Guomindang which, in particular, still hopes to reunite the nation after "having abolished communism and Communist Party power on the mainland." In any case, separatism is a dangerous tendency, and the government and people of China are unlikely to put up with it.

Fourth, and this is perhaps the most important factor: the Taiwan separatists have influential patrons overseas. In recent years U.S. Congress has more than once passed resolutions favouring the idea of the "self-determination" of Taiwan. What is more, separatist leaders have been invited to take part in the drafting and discussion of these resolutions. Support for Taiwan's "self-determination" was proclaimed in the programme documents of the Republican Party. A recent statement by Democratic Senator Paul Simon, who has put forward his candidacy for the presidency, may be recalled here. The United States, he said, "should recognize the existence of both Taiwan and mainland China, just as it has done with the two Germanies."

The White House does not dare openly support the advocates of Taiwan's "independence." There is no doubt, however, that the Reagan administration seeks to retain the island as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" and a bastion of anti-communism in the Pacific.



Peking has repeatedly pointed to these designs on Washington's part.

Washington's policy on the Taiwan issue has been aptly expressed by a top State Department official: to find a formula that will help postpone the effective merger of the two parts of China within the lifetime of several generations to come.

In other words, the Reagan administration is afraid to advocate *de jure* independence, but will seek to achieve the *de facto* independence of Taiwan. This explains why it welcomes the tendency towards a limited liberalization of the Guomintang regime. The White House is seeking to prevent the political processes that have undermined the U.S. position in the Philippines and South Korea.

It remains to be seen how the situation develops further. Reports from Taipei say that support for a constructive dialogue with China is growing on the island, especially among young people not blinded ideologically by the Guomintang leaders. It is quite possible that as a result of the current changes, their voice will be heard more clearly on the island.

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CSO: 1812/0273

USSR CORRESPONDENT, TV OFFICIAL PROVIDE DIFFERENT VIEWS OF CHINA

Agricultural Problems, Policies

18070380 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 87 p 6

[Article by Yu. Savenkov, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent, Beijing: "Letter from China: After the Season of Young Shoots"]

[Text] From time immemorial it has been a custom in China to divide the year into 24 "seasons"--the alternation of the phenomena of nature. They were given corresponding names: "Awakening from the sleepiness of winter," "harvest rains," "meager dews," "the last heat," etc. I am looking at the calendar: "Season of young shoots". . . .

The newspapers are reminding people of the necessity to take measures in the event of a new drought in the northwest. In the south, there are other worries. In Guangdong there has not been time for the pouring rain to die down, and the meteorologists are already calling on people to prepare for a possible typhoon. The whims of the elements are costing dearly: During the year before last, 40 percent of all the crops suffered.

These days, the politicians, scholars and newspaper commentators are conducting serious discussions about how to preserve what has been sown, how to raise productivity, how to improve the soil, and how to increase the interest of the peasants in the solution of the food program (on the average the peasant invests 10-15 percent of his income in the soil). Society is searching for a path to long-term stable growth of grain production. All agree: In China the all-round development of agriculture has strategic significance: "Grain is the foundation of foundations." The premier of the PRC State Council, Zhao Ziyang, in his report on the work of the government at the last session of the All-Chinese Assembly of National Representatives, said: "The agricultural problem is mainly a production problem. It is necessary to secure a constant and significant increase in grain production."

The experts believe: In order to satisfy the demand of people and to secure the healthy economic development of the country, the average annual harvest of grain must reach 450 million tons in 1990. And the year 2000 must be met by the country with a 500-million-ton harvest. Outwardly, the weekly BEIJING REVIEW notes, the situation apparently looks reassuring. The average per capita harvest of 390 kilograms is quite near the tactical task--400 kilograms per capita.

The grain harvest of the year before last exceeded the 1985 level by 12 million tons, but this was only the approaches to the heights achieved at the beginning of the 1980's. The prerequisites exist that the harvest of this year will approximate the record level of 1984 (407 million tons). True, this can be done only by virtue of a significant increase of the fall harvest, which comes to 80 percent of the annual harvest. But here the weekly introduces correctives. Forty percent of the grain is going for the feeding of cattle, seeds, and industrial needs, and the demands in all these spheres continue to grow. The rapid spurt of grain-crops at the beginning of the 1980's created the illusion, the BEIJING REVIEW writes, that China has solved the grain problem once and for all.

What explains this spurt? The material interest of the peasants, which was stirred up by the system of the family contract. But then there was an intensification of manual labor. The family contract was able to open up the reserves lying on the surface, which were dozing during the time when "general poverty" was declared to be the social ideal. But now these reserves have almost been exhausted. The profitability of grain production is low, the ratio of prices for grain and other crops is unfavorable (in the suburb of Jiujiang, Central China, vegetables harvested from a plot of 0.1 hectare--such is the average land allotment of a peasant--bring an annual income of 2,250 yuan, and the state procurement price for grain harvested from such a plot is one-tenth of that amount). And if one takes into account the fact that the prices for the means of production have increased, it is clear why the peasants turned away from grain and turned to more advantageous crops, subsidiary trades, and to trade. Many free hands began to be taken up by the rapidly developing settlement and rural district industry. The village is increasingly being involved in industrial production. In and of itself, this process is logical and useful, but it is creating problems in agriculture, takes away a significant part of the expensive means of production that are in short supply, and the considerably higher level of incomes of workers in rural industry also leads to social problems. The areas under grain-crops have begun to diminish. And here is the result: A minus of 28 million tons in 1985. The following trend developed: In the social product of the village, the share of subsidiary trades has constantly increased, but in the total volume of agricultural products the share of forestry, animal husbandry, and the fish industry is experiencing stable growth. Equally immutable is the reduction in the share of agriculture.

"If there is grain, there will be a stable economy." This is how people characterize the situation today at meetings, scientific forums, and in directives of the government. But the land and the farmers are in need of help. Here are some incentives.

The investments of the state in the infrastructure of agriculture will grow by 40 percent this year. To a significant degree they will be directed toward the restoration and construction of irrigation installations. During the past few years, because of the reduction in capital investments of the state and the peasants in land improvement, many systems have fallen into neglect. At present, China has embarked upon the execution of a prestigious program of control of the perfidious rivers and the effective use of water power resources. One of the goals of this program is to increase the area of irrigated land from 47 million to 53 million hectares by the end of this century. Still another project of capital investments is the production zones for commercial grains. In

the near future, 100 of them will be created (32 rice-growing zones and 68 for the production of wheat). By the way, this is one of the ways of the transition to intensive agriculture on the basis of the strengthening of the material-technical base. You see, on tiny plots of land the use of equipment is extremely limited.

The Agricultural Bank of China also did not stand aside: This year it is granting many more loans to farmers. And, finally, the contract system for grain purchases is being improved. The only thing that is not envisaged in the system of measures is the increase of the purchase price for grain. In China its stability is directly connected with the social stability of society. At the same time, as the minister of agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishery, He Kang, has said, during this year the obligatory quota for grain purchases will be lowered up to 50 million tons. There will be an increase in the volume of purchases at higher contract prices. For a certain volume of grain, the state will sell fertilizer and diesel fuel at firm prices to the peasant. Advances will be given against the expected harvest.

During the past few years, fundamentally new processes have arisen in grain production. There has been a significant increase in the proportion of commercial grain in comparison with what the peasant consumes. With the development of specialization, interregional cooperation has begun to develop, and the exchange of agricultural products between different regions of the country has become more intensive. This has given rise to problems that did not exist previously.

Analyzing these phenomena, the young economist Gao Syaomen writes in the pages of the newspaper BEIJING RIBAO that the existing system of grain purchases is "old-fashioned". It took shape during the time of the production brigades, which were the intermediaries between the state and the peasant. What is needed is a new system, which would apply economic methods of regulation and would assist the peasant in the marketing of grain. Gao Syaomen, and he is not alone, proposes to make an almost complete transition to the distribution of grain through the market, but in the presence of the regulating role of the state. In the village, a branched system of grain storage facilities with good service, on collective principles (In the record year 1984, the grain often lay under the open sky because of the catastrophic shortage of elevators). The second aspect is the creation of a national and inter-provincial commercial service, which would study the condition of the market and regulate the sale and purchase of grain. But the transformation of the administrative system, which has been in existence for several decades already, is running into serious difficulties, the scholar warns, since the interests of certain groups of people will be affected.

During the past few years, the struggle for the harvest of grain-crops is proceeding against the background of the constant reduction of arable land. This happened also in the 1950's, but the dimensions were more modest, and the size of the population was significantly smaller. Now the formula "many people--little land" is being sensed physically after all. The newspaper GUANGMING RIBAO: "If the trend of the reduction of arable land is not stopped, not a single hectare of arable land will remain in China in 150 years." The recordholder was



the year 1985, when 1 million hectares were withdrawn for other purposes. Last year the losses were fewer, but meanwhile they equalled the entire arable land of Qinghai Province (but this, according to calculations, is 2.5 million tons of grain). Many propose to look at the struggle for the preservation of arable land as a state task of paramount significance, no less important than the policy of control of the birth rate. For a long time already, there has existed in China the State Committee for Planned Child-Bearing Affairs. And here last year the government established the State Land Administration, one of whose functions is the preservation of arable land. A law on land use has entered into force, and there are other legal measures that limit the use of land for non-agricultural needs. During the past year, as the result of the survey of a number of provinces, 3 million cases of the illegal withdrawal of arable land were discovered. Stricter measures of punishment are needed--this, in particular, was discussed by the deputies of the last session of the National People's Congress. "By itself, the law is still no guarantee. What is needed is resoluteness in its application." All the more so because, in the words of Minister He Kang, the issue is not the expansion of arable land, but only the preservation of the present level. The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO not long ago proposed to make some legal provisions more concrete: "If you build on land suitable for agriculture, pay a tax or improve the same quantity of fallow land, which will yield an analogous harvest. If a person lives in a mountain valley, let him build a house on the mountain slope. If a peasant wants to erect a new house, let him tear down the old one, but there is no need to touch valuable arable land."

Among the people they say: "It is better to gather from a narrow strip than to sow a wide field." Many participants of a recent conference on land use in Peking [as published] had a skeptical attitude toward the program of development of fallow land, believing that it is not justified in economic terms. The chief reserve, in their view, lies in the increase of production on low- and average-yield lands. In China they account for 83 percent of all cultivated land. Thus, to increase the yield of every hectare--that is the chief way. But if this is done in an unprofessional manner, the danger of impoverishment of the soil arises. Such perturbed faint notes were sounded not long ago in the pages of newspapers. Lately, in order to obtain instantaneous output, the peasants have been abusing chemical fertilizers, neglecting organic ones. As a result, after a few years the content of organic matter in the soil diminished here and there by a factor of 2.5.

How to induce and improve the fertility of the soil? Now the second half of the 15-year term, for which the peasants have been given the use of the land, has come. But what further? Is there a guarantee that the policy will not change? The following variant has developed. To increase the term of the contract to 50 years. So as for the children to inherit the land. And if the plot is transferred to a new contractor, he must pay the previous one to compensate him for his investments. "Also necessary," wrote RENMIN RIBAO, "is a fairer system of prices for the products of agriculture." A system of the kind that would guarantee the peasant growing grain an adequate income. But the price system is a capricious thing, and one does not draw up a new one in a year.

What other ways are there? Here is one. Twenty-eight peasant households in the district of Sintyan, in the vicinity of Wuhan, have taken 85 hectares of arable

land on contract. This village receives solid income from rural industry. For part of it they have bought tractors and threshing-machines; moreover, every farmstead may rent a water pump, which after 4 years becomes its property. For every 100 kilograms of marketable grain, there is a compensation of 100 yuan.

And the rent payment for the land is paid from the public fund. Irrigation and machine ploughing groups have also been created in the village, which help the farmers. As a result, the incomes of grain producers have exceeded the incomes of the other peasants. And here the reverse process has already begun. The peasants have begun to return to grain. Evidently, this case is not a typical one, but it points the way. Where rural industry has gathered strength and where it is prepared to share part of its income, it has proved possible to attain the goal--to increase the production of marketable grain. And in the other cases? It happens that the rural enterprises are reluctant to give up even part of their profit, believing that it is more advantageous to invest the funds in the expansion of industrial production.

In any event, as in the old days, the system of the family contract has by degrees carved its way through, so now the inclination toward cooperation in one form or another is growing. But perhaps, for all that the farm path?--others say. For the time being there is no clear answer. But the trend of "the land to the more skillful" is spreading increasingly more in the Chinese village. When several years ago they divided up the land in the suburbs of Shanghai, many were lost: What to sow, when to sow? And here, in one of the districts, two brothers took a plot of 3.2 hectares in use, where previously 12 peasants worked unsuccessfully. They at once invested 4,700 yuan to combine 100 small plots into a single irrigated field. They hired a construction brigade, which build roads and an irrigation network. And things took a turn for the better. In a competent approach to the land, the strategists of the rural development of China see a way to increasing the efficiency of grain production.

Popular wisdom has it: "Man will not deceive the land--the land will not deceive man."

#### Changes in City, Countryside

18070380 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 87 p 7

[Article by V. Popov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, Peking--Moscow: "Travel Notes: Two Weeks in China"]

[Text] We are on the upper platform of the new Peking television center. Below the enormous city with wide avenues and old side-streets, modern road junctions and apartment houses being built. What strikes the eye is the size of the crowd, the large number of cars, among which there are quite a number of our "Volgas". But a still greater number--of bicycles, which are audaciously scurrying among the automobiles, moreover not only along the specially allotted strips of the road.

The television tower is not only the highest place in the city. It is a distinctive symbol of the dynamic development of our great neighbor. China is on the march, and Chinese television--in the process of rapid growth.

Yes, the television of the PRC is experiencing a real boom. Prior to 1978 there were about 30 television stations in the country; at present there are 300. Every year 14 million television sets are produced here, including 4 million color televisions. The country has already 98 million television sets, and as recently as 1980 there were only 9 million. More than 70 percent of the entire population are now encompassed by television broadcasts. The local television centers in such large cities as Shanghai and Guangzhou, where we chanced to be, have two of their own channels each, plus they receive both channels from the capital via satellite. All in all in China more than 700 ground stations for satellite communication have been built. Radio is also developing, it does not yield its positions, but television, as throughout the world, has moved into first place. There has been an increase in its information and education functions and, in the final analysis in its role in the formation of public opinion.

The trip of the delegation of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting had as its goal joint work with Chinese colleagues on the determination of the forms and volumes of cooperation. Our delegations met for serious and businesslike discussions in this important sphere for the first time in the last 30 years.

The materials and impressions found in the course of the discussions and meetings still require reflection. However, it can be said with confidence that these contacts have proved useful for both sides. For example, the experiment of the recent creation of radio channels of an economic orientation in Shanghai and Guangzhou has attracted our attention. Their main content is economic information, recommendations concerning new forms of management, consultation on legal and credit and financial problems.

We drove more than 5,000 kilometers through the country, having stayed in five cities and dozens of other settlements. This made it possible for us to become acquainted more closely with the life of the country and with the changes in the economic, social and spiritual life of the PRC.

First, what strikes the eye is the dynamism of Chinese society. The economy is developing, much is being changed, and experiments are being conducted. Everywhere we were, construction is going on--industrial enterprises are being installed, cultural and consumer projects, and housing. Nevertheless, our interlocutors openly talked about the difficulties, singling out such "bottlenecks" as transportation, communications, and energy supply.

Our hospitable hosts gave us the possibility to get acquainted with two new cities in a special economic zone--Shenzhen and Zhuhai. They came into existence 7 years ago on the site of small fishing settlements. In the first, the population has already exceeded half a million, in the second there are over 150,000 inhabitants. They are distinguished by modern architecture, rational planning with the withdrawal of economic enterprises to zones of "ecological safety", and the comprehensive building of apartment blocks with regard to all social and everyday needs of the population. The industry here is on the level of the latest achievements of world scientific-technical progress. The main goal in so doing is to attract foreign capital and scientific and technical experience for joint production, counting on the subsequent beneficial influence on the industry of the country as a whole.



The two small enterprises, with which we were acquainted--enterprises for the production of switches (connecting units for computers) in Shenzhen and for the manufacture of tape cassettes in Zhuhai--are equipped with modern equipment and their production goes to a significant extent for export.

On the basis of superficial impressions, it is difficult to make a judgment about the economic and scientific-technical efficiency as a whole. One thing is indisputable: A bold and unusual beginning; it is up to specialists and the most important arbiter--time--to judge the results. We liked the people with whom we met there--they are directed toward tomorrow and for the sake of this they work with enthusiasm today. It is characteristic that it was precisely here, in these "experimentalist cities" that we, most of all, heard questions about the restructuring, the strategy of acceleration, and the economic innovations in our country.

If we talk about dynamic changes, they are most graphically manifested in the countryside. Sturdy houses, two and sometimes three stories, to take up less of the land that is in short supply here. And close by--well-groomed fields.

Moreover, there is still much that is unclear in the paths of development of the Chinese countryside. Not far away from Guangzhou we visited one of the "strong" peasants, as they say here. His annual income is several times larger than that of a skilled worker or even a white collar employee in a responsible position. The source of this prosperity is flowers. They go to the internal market and to Hongkong and they bring considerable foreign exchange income. A significant part of the land of this village is put to flowers. But how about rice and other food crops? They explain to us that Guangdong Province fulfills the plan for rice, but in the district and this village there is no such plan. What is the planning mechanism, how is it possible to attain the necessary balance? And where do the accumulations of the "strong" peasant go then? How to employ all those who worked in the previous "commune"? You see, to rent land to all is impossible because of its short supply. The press is issuing appeals to unite and to develop industrial production directly in the rural locality.

In the village in the environs of Guangzhou, where we were, a factory producing videocassettes is operating in this manner. But what is to be done in the remote regions, far away from the suppliers of domestic and imported raw material and the consumption markets? There are quite a few questions, but the aspiration is felt to find positive answers to them.

Foodstuffs are on sale in all cities where we were. The same holds true for industrial products. Their assortment is sufficiently broad. And in the noisy and colorful markets and in the rows of the traditional stalls it is simply striking and diverse.

Quality? One feels that there are still quite a few problems here. And, of course, the prices! By far not everything that attracts the buyer is within his reach given the present level of income of the population.

The stereotype of China--people in identical overalls, created by movies and news in pictures--is becoming a thing of the past. The majority of the people walking on the streets, especially the young people, are wearing diverse and



sometimes striking dress. The cheerful young boys and girls in jeans, fashionable jackets, blouses and skirts, who are always hurrying somewhere, cannot but evoke sympathy. According to the oldtimers, there has also been an appreciable change in the manner in which people relate to one another.

Still one more impression which it is impossible not to share. This is the feeling that the respect for history and culture and the inclination toward the beautiful, which in the course of many centuries was implanted in the consciousness of the people, have now received the possibility of manifesting themselves. The ways of the dark nihilism of the times of the "cultural revolution" have been cast aside. And both along the Great Wall of China and in the Yueh T'an Park of the capital and at the beautiful historical and cultural monuments of other cities--everywhere thousands and thousands of people. With pride they told us in Yueh-T'an how courageous and resourceful workers of the museum saved unique works of Chinese painting from the Red Guards [khunveybiny], having painted them over with easily washable paint, which imitated "destruction".

A great impression is produced by the monuments of Xi'an, in particular the excavations of the burial of the Emperor Ch'ing Shih Tsung [Yung-cheng], who ruled at the end of the third century before our era. Archaeologists came here after the accidental find by a peasant woman in 1974. By now already approximately 6,000 terracotta figures of commanders and dignitaries of the empire and ordinary soldiers have been revealed. And all this in natural magnitude!

The solicitous attitude toward monuments of the national culture in the PRC is now combined with successful and rational forms of their popularization. For example, in Xi'an almost every evening a program of dances, songs, and demonstration of costumes and rituals restored on the basis of medieval miniatures is put on for tourists and guests.

It is noteworthy that the interest in culture is not limited to the national framework. In Shanghai City, for example, we attended a fine Mozart evening. We liked the soloists; the orchestra under the direction of Professor Huan Syaotun (incidentally, a graduate of the Moscow Conservatory in 1960) and his talented student Lin Yushen was good.

In the theaters of the PRC the stage plays of foreign authors are presented, in the movie theaters and on television--foreign films. True, until recently among them were such films, for example, as "Rambo", "The Woman Lost in a Sea of Passions", "Jaws", "The Woman Being Chased", and other fruits of Western mass culture similar to them.

Soviet feature films are also being shown in movie theaters and on television. "The Sunsets Are Quiet Here", "The Crew", "The Detachment", "Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears", "Romance at Work", "They Fought for Their Fatherland", "The Ascent", "Belorussian Station", and others have been shown on the silver screen. These films have met with good audience response.

Once we happened to watch a concert on the central television of the PRC, where the actresses, who were performing Soviet songs, were made up after the heroines of the film "The Sunsets Are Quiet Here". We were told that Chinese women students, who were studying the Russian language, it happened, took for themselves

as a distinctive pseudonym the names of the girls from this film. In the cities, especially in the parks and gardens, or, for example, on a small motor ship on hydrofoils, which makes voyages between Shenzhen and Zhuhai, in airplanes and in the train, and, of course, on the radio, one often hears Russian folk music and Soviet songs.

In conclusion--a few words about the "business" part of the trip. Our talks with our colleagues and our meetings with the PRC minister of radio, cinema and television, Ai Zhisheng, took place in an atmosphere of good will. A protocol on cooperation for the years 1987-1988 was signed, in which, in particular, understandings were set forth concerning the mutual sending of creative groups of television and radio journalists and specialists, on the participation in festivals and reviews being conducted in the PRC and the USSR, and on the organization of special programs devoted to national holidays. Already in Beijing we exchanged "packages" of television programs, which will help us to better observe the anniversary of the formation of the PRC on 1 October, and our colleagues--the 70th anniversary of the Great October.

The other day, a group of Chinese radio journalists came to the Soviet Union to prepare a program on the present-day life of the Soviet Union, about the restructuring of the economy, and the social and spiritual spheres of our society. We hope that in a short time a correspondent office for Soviet television and radio will be opened in Beijing, and that Chinese television and radio correspondents will begin to work in Moscow on a permanent basis.

All of this, without a doubt, will be conducive to the improvement of the knowledge of each other's life, to mutual understanding, and to the development and strengthening of friendship between our countries and peoples.

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CHINA, EAST ASIA

QUESTION OF KYOTO DORM OWNERSHIP RAISES 'TWO-CHINA' ISSUE

OW061433 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 6 Aug 87

[Alekseyev commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Dear Chinese listeners: A half year ago, a Japanese court decided that the Kokaryo dormitory in Kyoto should belong to Taiwan, and China condemned this as an attempt to create two Chinas. At the beginning, people thought that Japan would act with due resolve to nullify this court decision which wantonly intervened in China's internal affairs, but this was not what happened. As the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY points out, a half year has elapsed, but the Japanese Government has continued its two-China stand toward this issue, thus producing an extremely bad effect on Sino-Japanese relations. On this issue, our station observer Alekseyev has the following comments:

[Begin recording] Tokyo wants to shirk responsibility on the pretext that the government has no authority to intervene in the court's decision; that is, that the Japanese Government cannot take any action in this regard. This allegation is entirely untenable. Can a court make a decision contrary to a country's treaty commitment?

Since 1972 when Japan and China signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Japan has had the commitment to respect China's sovereignty over Taiwan. For this reason, Japanese mass media have repeatedly pointed out that the decision on Taiwan's ownership of the Kokaryo dormitory has no legal effect.

Of course, if the Japanese Government has a real intention to comply with the spirit and provisions of the 1972 treaty, it should respect China's sovereignty. Not long ago, Tokyo played an unwise trick in an attempt to close the case by muddling things up. It announced that it intends to buy the Kokaryo dormitory from Taiwan and then present this property gratuitously to China. Obviously, however, this does not change its stand in essence. To China, as RENMIN RIBAO comments, the Kokaryo issue is not a material question, but one of politics in principle. It is an issue concerning whether the Japanese Government wants to respect China's legitimate rights and sovereignty.  
[end recording]

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BRIEFS

PRC-USSR RAILROAD SPECIALISTS MEET--A joint meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Border Railway Commission was held in Chita City, USSR, from 22 to 31 July. The meeting worked out organizational measures for further improving foreign trade and rail freight transport between the USSR and the PRC. A protocol was signed. [Text] [Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 1 Aug 87 OW] A business meeting of Chinese and East Siberian railroad workers has ended in Chita. Specialists from neighboring Harbin and Zabaykalye trunklines met to discuss questions of improving the technology employed at border crossings. This is connected with the increased flow of foreign trade freight. The participants in the meeting discussed specific measures to improve joint work. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 1 Aug 87 LD] /12232

JAPAN'S TIGHTENED EXPORT CONTROLS--Commenting on a set of legislative administrative measures adopted by the Japanese Government for strengthening export controls to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, PRAVDA's Tokyo correspondent Latyshev writes as follows: As opposition parties have pointed out, this discriminatory action obviously violates the current Foreign Trade Law. The approval by the government of new restrictions on the export of Japanese goods to socialist countries, which run counter to the spirit of the constitution, substantiates anew that the Nakasone administration toes Washington's subversive line. In international relations Washington tries to incite the spirit of distrust, hostility, and military rivalry. Through the adoption of this decision Prime Minister Nakasone has deliberately created anew obstacle to the road of Japanese-Soviet good-neighborliness and incurred great losses to Japan's own interests and the normalization of international relations in the Far East. [Text] [Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 2 Aug 87 OW] /12232

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